THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way" — however dimly, and lost among the host — as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness.

—The Voice of the Silence

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EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM

VALUING freedom of thought above all things, as the only way of reaching at some future time that Wisdom, of which every Theosophist ought to be enamoured, we recognize the right to the same freedom in our foes as in our friends.

— H. P. BLAVATSKY

When freedom is not an inner idea which imparts strength to our activities and breadth to our creations, when it is merely a thing of external circumstance, it is like an open space to one who is blindfolded.

— RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The outward freedom that we shall attain will only be in exact proportion to the inward freedom to which we may have grown at a given moment.

— GANDHIJI

IN THESE DAYS of mechanistic materialism we are apt to evaluate all things in terms of externals. Thus, when we think of freedom, we generally think of the freedom of the outward man. If a man is serving a term in prison and confined to his cell, we say he is not free. And this is true as far as the movement of his body is concerned: he cannot leave the penal institution where he has been imprisoned; he cannot go where he wants to. But bodily imprisonment is only the loss of outward movement. There is another kind of imprisonment, namely, psychological captivity, and this is far, far more injurious than physical imprisonment. For a man may be in prison and yet remain free in mind and free in conscience. A slave may be dragged through the streets in chains and yet remain a free man. And the reverse is equally true. A man out of prison may walk the streets at liberty and go to whatever places, near or distant, he wants to, and yet be a captive. He is not under physical constraint, yet may be a mental slave afraid or unwilling to think for himself. As Sir William

Drummond's saying goes: "He that will not reason is a bigot; he that cannot reason is a fool; and he that dares not reason is a slave."

What applies to the individual is equally applicable to the collectivity and the nation. Political freedom does not necessarily include true freedom, which is inward. And this is being demonstrated again and again in contemporary history.

This atomic age in which we live is one of over-organization and over-regimentation. These are fast reducing large numbers of men and women to the condition of mental slaves; men and women willing to abandon their most precious gift, that of free thinking, to sell their birthright for a pottage of lentiles! And yet without inward freedom man ceases to be man. Freedom is the essence of human progress, and, deprived of it, man stagnates and degenerates.

The challenge of the modern age is above all the challenge to man's freedom of thought. Men are not machines; no, not even "thinking" machines. Men, to be men, must retain their freedom of thought. This alone makes them moral beings. For no action which is not voluntary can be regarded as moral.

In his thought-provoking book *Brave New World,* Aldous Huxley describes the drastic consequences of totalitarian dictatorship utilizing all the devices of scientific knowledge to make men "conform" to their rule. Under such a *régime* life would be a veritable nightmare and human endeavour a mere parody. Man is a strange creature and, faced with the problems of economic, political and social insecurity, he is too often tempted to surrender his individual liberties. Tired of the struggle for existence and the conflicts of life, he escapes into passivity and servile obedience to external law. Such obedience and conformity imply having someone else do your thinking for you.

And science has developed tremendous weapons for the exploiter and the tyrant, far more dangerous than the atomic or the hydrogen bombs. There are both crude and subtle ways of psychologizing men's minds and influencing their thinking, from the use of systematic propaganda to that of hypnopædia.

These methods are already conditioning and indoctrinating human minds in various fields and their potential danger in the hands of the exploiter should not be underestimated. While legislation can and should condemn some of these methods as illegal, legislation, we all know, cannot enforce the law. What is needed is a greater awareness on the part of the individual. Rightly did Lord Buddha say that vigilance is the way to immortality and that the heedless are already dead.

The only remedy lies in educating the children to enable them to protect themselves against the forces of tyranny. The success or failure of a democracy lies in its system of education.

Children must not be allowed to become the victims of undesirable suggestions, but helped to develop sufficient discrimination to recognize the danger and protect themselves. "A proper and sane system of education," says Madame Blavatsky, "should produce the most vigorous and liberal minds, strictly trained in logical and accurate thought, and not in blind faith." Are our teachers helping to produce such "vigorous and liberal minds" and can they succeed unless they are fearless and liberal themselves and able to think and reason for themselves? We need teachers who are able to kindle and to enlighten the spirit of liberty in the hearts of the young; and only "free men and women, free intellectually, free morally, unprejudiced in all respects, and above all things, *unselfish*" can communicate to their pupils the true meaning of freedom and impart to them its value. It was H. G. Wells who said that "history is becoming more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Yes, but education must be such as will provide children with a foundation sound enough to satisfy both reason and aspiration. They must be able to look after themselves morally and intellectually, so that they cannot be easily drawn into the destructive currents of our times, or easily exploited by those in power. Realizing their responsibility and able to face it courageously and wisely, they must be able to recognize truth from error and not be misled by mere slogans, glamoured by false promises or deceived by external appearances. They must be helped to develop integrity and honesty.

We must not overlook the fact that education can also be exploited by vested interests and that a wrong and perverse system of education can corrupt and produce men and women incapable of thinking for themselves. A king in ancient Sparta on being asked what boys should learn in school is said to have answered: "Why, I suppose, what, being men, they shall do." Let the children be taught self-reliance, altruism and freedom of thinking, that the men and women of tomorrow may be true and responsible citizens of a Republic of Brotherhood.

May we learn to value freedom of thought above all things, that we may see the Truth and act accordingly!

NAMRATĀ

THE BALTIC STATES' LINKS WITH BUDDHISM

[BORN of Buddhist parents in August 1873 in Latvia, then called Livonia, the **Most Reverend Karlis A. M. Tennisons, Mahacharya Vagindra Mantramitra,** renounced the world at the age of twenty and became a Buddhist Bhikkhu. Now an exile from his native country, he resides at the Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon and continues to preach the Dhamma. We are grateful to him for this article in which he narrates the ancient making of links with Buddhism in the Baltic States, where he was the Sangharaja (or Head) of the Buddhists. We publish here the first part of his long essay.—ED.]

I

LORD BUDDHA GAUTAMA SHAKYAMUNI laid it down that it was man's highest duty to help all sentient beings. A good Buddhist must help the world, and this help should be based on the feeling of mercy and compassion. And a Bodhisattva, the spiritual warrior, gives away his body, his pleasures and even his merit for the benefit of beings suffering in Samsara. The *Prajna-Paramita Satasahasrika,* a text of the Sanskrit Buddhist Canon, solemnly says that a preacher of the Dharma should not desire even Supreme Enlightenment as the reward of his disinterested work.

Lord Buddha Gautama's glorious Message which strengthens us in life and in death, and gives unto us, mortals, the boon of immortality, conquered the populous subcontinent of India, unrolling like a deluge. From India Buddhism spread in all directions. It crossed the majestic Himalayas, the world's most formidable mountain barrier, and in a matter of centuries established authority over much of the immense Asiatic continent. In the East it spread to the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Luzon, etc. In the West Buddhist missionaries (*Dharmadutas*) carried the gospel of Lord Buddha not only to Palestine, Egypt and Greece, but even to Latvia, the "Land of Amber" of the Eastern Baltic.

Many people do not know that Latvia played an important role in the ancient world and had commercial and spiritual ties with Buddhist India and China.

Amber, a fossil resin, generally yellow and semi-transparent, held great attraction for the men of classical antiquity. They endowed it with magic or medicinal powers and æsthetic value. Ancient Greeks called amber electron, for amber becomes electric by friction. And the Aryans of India called amber *Tṛṇamaṇi, i.e.,* "grass-jewel." Latvia was known to ancient Indians as

Tṛṇamaṇi Pradeśa. The Baltic Sea was then called the Amber Sea, in Sanskrit Tṛṇamaṇi Sāgara, and in Russian Yantarnoye Morie. Homer mentions amber in several places in connection with gold. Thus the faithful Penelope is given by her admirer a necklace of amber and gold, "like the Sun." The long-range trade of the Roman Empire was founded primarily on the supply of five commodities, namely, amber, ivory, incense, pepper and silk (and Rome was in need of them in this order).

The Latvians and Lithuanians, who are people of the Aryan race, have inhabited the eastern shores of the Baltic for the past 5,000 years. For millennia the largest amber deposit in the world was on the coasts of Latvia and Lithuania. From hoary antiquity during the stormy autumn months the Eastern Baltic has been washing up the precious amber. Naturally the amber trade made the Latvians and Lithuanians wealthy, and this trade was instrumental in leading them to an unusually high degree of civilization.

In his recent book entitled *The Ancient Amber Routes and the Geographical Discovery of the Eastern Baltic* (M. Goppers, Stockholm, 1957), Doctor Arnolds Spekke, the Minister Plenipotentiary of Latvia in Washington and a scholar of distinction, shows the geographical ties and cultural intercourse of Latvia and Lithuania (and also Estonia) with the ancient Northern and Mediterranean civilizations which existed already in the very remote past.

Doctor Spekke describes in his book how one amber route lay across Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It was marked by the valleys of the Vistula and its tributaries, and the Dniester. Along this route amber collected on the Latvian coast was carried to the Black Sea and the prosperous Ægean world.

Another amber route went through Central Europe. The Central European mountain range was known in antiquity as the Hercynian mountain system. Between the Sudeten mountains and the Carpathians there is a depression called the "Moravian Gate," and so the amber route from Latvia to ancient Rome led from the Vistula estuary to the Moravia River valley and then across the Danube, just above Bratislava.

As a result of several decades of intense research, it is my privilege to reveal to my readers that there existed yet a third amber route, namely, the route from Latvia to North-western India and China. Already in hoary antiquity a great trade route from Northern and Western Europe to India passed through Latvia along the Daugava River (in Russian Zapadnaya Dvina) to Polotzk, then overland to Rjev (a distance of 200 miles) on the Volga River, down that fine waterway and across the

Caspian Sea, to Marakanda (now called Samarkand), the principal city of Sogdiana, in Buddhist Central Asia, and thence *via* Bactria (Balkh) and the Khawak Pass to Kabul and Taxila, the venerable seat of Buddhist learning and culture in North-western India. From Samarkand there existed a trade-route (also known as "silk route") to Lan Chow in North-western China, *via* Kashgar and Khotan, across the desert of Gobi. Thus travelled the Latvian amber, that light but precious substance, thousands upon thousands of miles from Latvia to Central Asia, India and China. Many *Dharmadutas* and illustrious teachers travelled along these amber routes in the service of the Dharma, most often along the last-mentioned route. There is a faint tradition that the Buddhist missionaries sent by the pious Indian Emperor Ashoka the Great, who visited Palestine, Egypt and Macedonia, reached the Baltic Sea coast of Latvia *via* the Moravian Gate about 250 years before Christ.

The peoples of ancient Latvia and Lithuania (and also of Estonia) were deeply interested in matters of religion. In Emperor Ashoka's time the Latvians, the Lithuanians and the closely related and now extinct Prussians (Borussians) spoke a form of Sanskrit like Vedic Sanskrit. They called their religion the Arya-Dharma, for they were conscious of being Aryans. Their society was divided into groups according to the duties assigned and work performed by its component parts. According to Buddhism, a Brahmin is he who acts and works like a true Brahmin, and not merely one who is born of Brahmin parents. This point was readily accepted in old Latvia.

To the Latvians and Lithuanians of that time the universe was full of meaning, and life pervaded by the abiding presence of Buddhas. Everything conveyed a deep truth, and the finite and the infinite embraced each other. Latvians were always looking for that cosmic energy which lies at the root of the mystery of the universe. That the divine spark of Buddhahood lurks within us all was emphasized already in the oldest folk songs of the Latvians. To have a glimpse of the Eternal was people's sincere yearning. They also knew how to regard sorrow as a great contributory factor in the preparation for the road to Wisdom.

Latvian folk songs and folk tales are replete with Buddhist ideas, with faith in reincarnation, with faith in the triumph of justice and in the inevitability of the defeat of evil according to the unerring Law of Karma. Buddhist conceptions inspired the thoughts and feelings of a host of Latvian thinkers from times of old down to our days.

The Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians had mainly open-air temples called *Ramavas*. These *Ramavas* were usually groves of huge oak trees. The oak trees (in Sanskrit *simura*) were regarded by inhabitants of ancient

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia with the same veneration as the Bodhi Tree is regarded by the Buddhist of India and other tropical lands today.

At the time when the glorious gospel of Lord Buddha Gautama Shakyamuni was first preached in the Land of Amber some 2,200 years ago, people there worshipped the God of the Sun, the God of Thunder, the Creator of Lightning, the Wielder of the Thunderbolt, as their Chief God or the Lord of Everything. His purely Latvian name is Perkons. Besides the Wielder of the Thunderbolt, the Latvians had secondary deities. They believed in Yamaraja (known in the modern Latvian language under the name of Pakols), the God of the Underworld, Hell or Darkness; in Varuna, known in modern Latvian as Patrims; in the God of the Sea, Antrimps; in the God of Flowering, Pushkaitis; and so on. The Goddess Shri or Devi was also worshipped in ancient Latvia. She is called in modern Latvian Laima, the Goddess of Happiness (and Wealth). The people of Latvia had veneration for Indra, the Chief of the Celestials. Even today there are many villages and farms in Latvia which go by the name of Indra, and many Latvian families carry the surname of Indra. Sacred rites were performed in honour of all these Gods in an elaborate pantheon.

The ancient Latvians believed also in supernatural beings with magical powers and in goblins, elementals and nymphs. They also worshipped the rivers and protected the helpless animals, birds and fishes.

The Latvians, Lithuanians and also Estonians valued highly those gifts which gave ability to comprehend the highest religious truth, such as exalted intelligence, keen powers of understanding, unshakable faith, selfless modesty and all-embracing altruism.

Particularly interesting in this connection are the Estonian national epics of *Kalevipoeg*, son of Kalev and Linda, and *Lacplesis*, Prince of the Lielvard Dynasty of Latvia, which contain profound Buddhist ideas.

In the eleventh chapter of *Kalevipoeg*, it is said that the ancient Estonians had a collection of sacred texts "more precious than gold," "a source of virtue and happiness," written on iron. There can be no doubt this collection was a version of the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, and it inspired many generations of Estonians to seek the true bliss of life in the way of the Buddhists. The Buddhists of Latvia and Lithuania are particularly proud of their connection with Sanskrit, for Sanskrit is a language whose structure is the most perfect in the world. Just like Sanskrit, the modern Latvian and Lithuanian languages have a highly complicated grammar, which when mastered equips one with a highly powerful linguistic machinery.

KARLIS A. M. TENNISONS

(*To be concluded*)

THE BUSINESS OF PHILOSOPHY

[**Dr. Pravas Jivan Chaudhury** is Professor of Philosophy and Head of that Department in the Calcutta Presidency College. He has also an M.Sc. in physics and an M.A. in English Literature and is thus able to bring to his enquiry a mind trained in the discipline of science and mellowed by the study of literature. Philosophy is the love of wisdom and we would have every educationist teach with a philosophical bias!—ED.]

THERE is a genuine feeling even in some philosophical quarters that philosophy has no business now to transact and the philosopher has no job left to himself except perhaps that of clearing men's minds of the superstition of philosophy. In fact many eminent persons holding chairs in the philosophical departments of various universities are actively engaged in undermining the prestige of philosophy after Hume and Comte. The purpose of this paper is to state and evaluate their case.

The modern anti-philosophical school, called Logical Positivism, arose out of a small number of men at the University of Vienna about 1920. But the essential point this school pressed before the public was raised by David Hume about 1748 in his book, *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*. The point is this: any statement may be *either* factually significant and, so, scientifically verifiable, *or* verbally (that is, formally or by definition) true, significant, and so belong to logic and mathematics. Philosophically significant statements do not belong to any one of these categories and so their significance is not of a cognitive nature but of an emotive or poetic sort. Hume for this reason advises us to commit all books of metaphysics to flames: they can contain "nothing but sophistry and illusion." Now this is a theory of meaning telling us that only verifiable ideas may be regarded as meaningful; that others are either absolutely nonsensical, like the idea referred to by *abracadabra,* or only emotively, and so subjectively, significant, like the ideas represented by such expressions as "my peculiar feeling when I see a spider," "the unique sensation I have when I hold the lily-hands of my beloved." It is claimed by the positivists that the words "God," "soul," "reality," "infinity," "cause," "power," "potency," etc., are all expressions of the latter sort having no inter-personal meaning. The only inter-personally meaningful expressions are those that are verifiable by the senses, such as "that table" or "this pen," which can be ostensively defined. Philosophers, in so far as they do not trespass on the fields of science, trade in ideas which are meaningless in the sense that they have no definite inter-subjective meaning. Each philosopher defines implicitly and/or explicitly his philosophical ideas such

as "God," "soul," "truth," "cause," etc., in his own way and goes on to build his system. But it is a well-known fact that no system of philosophy so far has succeeded in systematizing any large area of our inter-personal or public experience, and none, therefore, has received any wide and permanent recognition from intelligent people. In fact the issue is clear enough, and Kant saw it. If the business of philosophy is to deal with the "reality" behind the sensible appearances, then this reality behind the scenes will ever remain a private affair of the philosopher. Metaphysics as a science is an illusion, declared Kant. And the practice of metaphysics these two thousand years amply justifies his statement. Joseph Dietzgen, an American thinker, wrote in 1869:—

> ...philosophy agrees only on its disagreements. In consequence, the history of philosophy, unlike the history of other sciences, consists less of a gradual accumulation of knowledge, than of a series of unsuccessful attempts to solve the general riddles of nature and life by "pure thought," without the help of experience.

The very outcome of philosophy shows the bankruptcy of philosophy. Thus the truly philosophical questions appear necessarily undecidable: each philosopher has his own way of answering them and every other philosopher finds fault with the answer. Philosophical controversies, like vendettas, never come to an end.

The philosophers ask some questions, however, which are factually significant. These are the questions of cosmology, biology, anthropology, etc., and they have been answered either from some observation or by pure guesswork. The questions are not genuinely philosophical but scientific; and the truth or falsity of the various answers offered by philosophers is to be determined by scientific investigation, for which the philosopher lacks the necessary patience. If any philosopher's answer is found true he may be congratulated upon his shrewd observation or happy guess, but surely it is the scientist who really answers these factual questions and verifies the statements of the philosopher, whose speculations are thus rendered superfluous.

The philosopher in his scientific speculations is really a pitiable creature, for he has left his real job and is dabbling with another he does not know. Is it not ridiculous for a mere speculator to assert either that men have descended from animals or that they have not? What experimental investigations has he made to substantiate such a factual statement? Why does he make irresponsible and idle statements instead of waiting patiently for science to develop and answer the question? If he has really made some observations and performed some experiments to back up his

assertion, he should offer it as a theory and not as a "truth" he has intuited, and should be prepared to revise it in the light of fresh observations and tests. If he does so then he is no philosopher but a scientist. A philosopher proper bases his principles upon "rational intuition," not on observation and experiment. But since such principles conflict with common experience and scientific facts, and render philosophy unpopular, the more sensible of philosophers do not dabble with scientific subjects and remain preoccupied with the super-scientific and, therefore, "meaningless" subjects.

Some apologists for philosophy believe that the true job of philosophy is the study of the history and science of philosophy. But then it is not philosophy but history and science. Moreover, what is the use of studying the history of human errors and analyzing them in detail? Why not divert this energy to the sciences? Some say that the philosopher should bring out the methodological presuppositions of science and help the scientist to define his concepts. But how can a philosopher do these jobs better than the scientist? Is the philosopher more gifted with intelligence than the scientist? A philosopher is generally more muddle-headed than the scientist; for he has largely occupied himself with vague generalizations and idle speculations. Some say that philosophy should seek to interrelate and unify the sciences. But how can philosophy do this, which has been the goal of science and for which expert knowledge of the sciences is essential?

It seems, from such criticism, that philosophy has at present no worthy job to do. The philosophers are there still for many reasons. Some are really dogmatic believers in some religion or in some socio-ethical doctrine and seek to propagate these forms of faith through a show of rational arguments. That there can be no rational proof of any of these faiths is amply shown by the existing diversity of such faiths and the great heat produced by any discussion of them in a meeting. There is no scientific or peaceful means to decide between two conflicting religio-philosophical dogmas, and therefore this type of philosopher has to employ all sorts of extra-intellectual methods to persuade his listeners. He must be a good speaker and have an impressive personality. Because by the nature of his subject-matter he has no really rational means to convince others such as the scientist has, he must imitate the primitive medicine-man and the mediæval priest. Most of the "arguments" he employs in order to pose as a scientist dealing with facts are not really arguments at all as any intelligent man can discover with a little attention.

Besides these sincere philosophers who have a serious mission in life

there are others who are academic men and who go on philosophizing because they are expected to do so. They have a professional interest in philosophy. Some of them are against the speculative or metaphysical type of philosophy and suggest that philosophy may take up the work of analysis of science or, again, the analysis and consequential destruction of metaphysics. But, as we have said earlier, these are sad compromises; the former job is best done by scientists themselves and the latter does not justify the upkeep of a separate department of study.

What do we learn from the above? First, philosophy must give up the claim that its findings so far are as objective and significant as those of the sciences. It must admit that its subject-matter is an odd one, that it is not amenable to a simple inter-subjective verification as the subject-matter of science is. It must not compete with science. Second, as a consequence of this it must not dabble with scientific questions but concern itself with the super-sensible ones, admitting frankly the difficult and apparently nonsensical task it has set before itself. It must not descend from this high station or compromise about this unique mission. Third, the positivist criticism has made it plain that the meaningfulness and validity of any statement rests on its capacity of being inter-personally communicated and winning assent. So the philosopher cannot afford to be an isolationist building his grand system like a solitary bird warbling its wood-notes in some quiet nook of the forest. He must not merely assert metaphysical statements but must tell us how we can arrive at those insights or intuitive flashes which he has. A method of verification must be offered for his statements if they claim meaning and truth.

This implies that philosophy is not to be liquidated but that a certain kind of philosophy must be discouraged. The idle and irresponsible kind of philosophy that merely speculates and plays with ideas is bad poetry; for such a philosophy pretends to be cognitive, while poetry does not pretend. The philosophers who are frankly poetic, making emotional appeals and seeking to influence thereby our will and conduct, do not tease us by any pretension or hurt us by raising false expectations. The philosopher who is frankly discussing a scientific subject in a scientific manner is also excluded from our criticism. We object to those philosophers who set about their job with pseudo-scientific and pseudo-prophetic airs. They claim that they have a direct intuition of certain principles which must be true and that if science so far has not been able to verify them it is science that is immature rather than the principles abortive.

We suggest that philosophy should take from science the lesson that

inter-subjective verification must be the ultimate touchstone of truth. But it must not give up its quest after transcendental objects for that reason; for there may be certain methods of mind-culture which may lead men to "see" the transcendental objects and so agree on them. It is dogmatic to assert that only sensible phenomena are inter-personally verifiable and so worthy of study. So philosophy must be more serious and meditative, and less speculative and argumentative. It must turn its efforts to sounding the depths of the human mind, finding the limits of understanding. To be satisfied with the sensible objects only, and to be afraid of the realm of twilight beyond, is not for the philosopher, who must be bolder than the scientist in this respect. The philosopher of the future, therefore, needs to experiment with his own mind and find out objective ways of developing powers which may be available to anyone, who may, therefore, verify for himself the supersensible entities and principles. In this direction philosophy will learn much from the Indian philosophers, particularly from those of the Yoga school. However, we can hardly guess the content of such a philosophy. It may be that it will resemble our ancient Yoga philosophy or some of the later versions of it offered by Sri Aurobindo or the theosophists.[1] But this seems to be certain, that philosophy can survive the onslaught of Logical Positivism only by radically changing its traditional method and outlook. It must adopt an experimental method and empirical outlook. It must have a first-hand experience of the philosophical ideas it offers as true, and must also supply the method for inter-subjective verification of them by other people. Otherwise it will be discarded as so many personal whims and superstitions of so many philosophers. With the growth of science men will be less interested in such idle literature. The philosopher of today ought to consider the question whether he will add to the already formidable quantity of such literature or will strike out along the new and fruitful line of philosophizing suggested here, which is, strictly, not new but as old as our Indian Yoga.

PRAVAS JIVAN CHAUDHURY

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[1] Strictly speaking, modern Theosophical literature, stemming from the teaching of Madame Blavatsky, is a re-formulation of ideas older even than ancient Indian philosophy. The "versions" of the Theosophists are later in formulation, but not in the essential philosophy. — ED.

LEGENDS OF THE CITIES

As he travels around the world **Mr. Dudley Glass** gathers much fascinating information upon which he reflects. He relates here some legends attached to cities of the Western world, in which he finds an expression of the soul and the personality of the place. To the intuitive reader these legends will prove instructive.— ED.]

GREAT CITIES are not only a labyrinth of streets and houses; a conglomeration of people; a tumult of market-places. They also have the beauty of architecture and the romance of history, as well as that legend which is on its fringes. Stones dipped in the aura of centuries take them out of the standardized present; show their personality; express their soul.

Legend is not only the heritage of ancient cities of the Orient; it hovers round many an Occidental metropolis. One of the colourful sights of London is the ornate golden coach driving the Lord Mayor on his annual Procession through the City. A fabulous coach—but there was once a Lord Mayor who might have come out of a fairy tale; indeed he has grown into one.

Well known is the legend of fourteenth-century Dick Whittington, that poor orphan from the country who arrived in London believing its streets to be paved with gold. He worked as a scullion for a rich mercer; ran away because he was ill-treated, but only got as far as a stone cross on Highgate Hill. Floating up from distant Cheapside he could hear the Bow Bells calling him back:—

Turn again, Whittington.
Thrice Lord Mayor of London!

Fortune smiled when he ventured his only possession, a cat bought for a penny, on a ship the mercer was sending abroad. A lucky cat; for it ended a plague of mice at the Moroccan court. Reward followed for the owner, and the hand of his master's daughter. He amassed great wealth; became, indeed, four times Lord Mayor.

Although there was such a Sir Richard Whittington, he was no orphan of lowly birth but the son of a Gloucestershire nobleman. Also the Bow Bells story—and the cat—are pure legend, foisted on the popular fancy by an old play. Later a supposed painting of Whittington in the dress of a City Livery Company actually showed him fondling a black and white cat, which has been perpetuated for children in modern pantomimes.

Almost as legendary is the tale of Sir Richard Whittington's banquet to King Henry V, who owed him much money. As a climax to the entertain-

ment a great fire was lit, to burn precious woods and cinnamon, and finally £60,000 worth of royal bonds.

The coat-of-arms of Paris shows a ship riding the waves, a curious coincidence; for the city was born a fishing village two thousand years ago on a boat-shaped island in the River Seine. Mooring this to the banks is the Pont-Neuf, a "New Bridge" dating back to 1578. Once its parapets were busy with booths where charlatans plied their trade and clowns made merry. All Paris thronged this fairground, but—the story ran—no one could cross it without meeting a monk, a white horse, a pastrycook and a hunchback. Not, of course, Victor Hugo's fictional Quasimodo of nearby Notre-Dame.

In the Bois de Boulogne Paris hides the charming Louis XVI pavilion of Bagatelle. Magic might have dropped it among the roses, so speedily was it built. A small country house standing on the spot had been bought, half in ruins, by the Comte d'Artois. When his sister-in-law, fastidious Marie Antoinette, teased him about its condition, he vowed he would construct an entirely new one on the foundations. An architect drew up the plans in a day; three days sufficed to complete this "mere bagatelle."

A city of sunny Provence sings its legend, "Sur le Pont d'Avignon." Rightly this should be "Sous le Pont," for peasants danced on an island under the bridge that had such a miraculous beginning. A shepherd boy of the twelfth century, Petit-Benoit Bénézet, told the Bishop of Avignon that Heaven had given him the power to build a bridge over the rushing Rhône, and moved a huge stone in proof of it. A fraternity of monks helped him in the structure for ten years. Although he died before its completion he was immortalized in a chapel over one of the arches, dedicated to St. Bénézet.

Going from the river-plains to the mountains, Switzerland's capital, Bern, has a legendary name. It will be noticed that a bear figures on the heraldic coat-of-arms; another on a fountain; another on a choir-stall in the cathedral; while real ones fill a popular bear-pit. That recalls Duke Berchtod who once arranged a hunting-party in the surrounding woods. He was seeking a name for the city and decided to call it after his first quarry, which happened to be a bear.

Lucerne's rock-hewn "Lion" is less a legend than a memorial to heroic Swiss Guards, but the Lake of the Four Cantons leads direct to Altdorf and that oft-quoted tale of William Tell. On the Rathausplatz stands a huge monument to the liberator of Switzerland from the Austrian yoke. An event sounding to be partly fable—for all Schiller's play—is recalled in front of a frescoed tower: Tell's refusal to do honour to the tyrant

Gessler's hat, hung on a lime tree. So his son was tied there, apple on head, to escape death when an intrepid archer managed to pierce it.

Also taken to the world's heart is the legendary founding of Rome. In schooldays we were taught Livy's story of Romulus and Remus, those divinely created twins, born of the God Mars and the mortal Rhea. Left to their fate in a cradle on the flooded Tiber, they were washed ashore where a wild fig-tree stood at the foot of the Palatine Hill. A she-wolf suckled them; a woodpecker fed them; a shepherd and his wife brought them up to manhood. On this very spot Rome was born, Romulus being the first of those kings who made the Eternal City emerge from the river-mists of antiquity.

They call Venice the "Bride of the Adriatic," and thereby hangs another tale. As long ago as 1173 began the ceremony known as "The Wedding with the Sea." The Doge Ziani wished to emphasize his State's naval supremacy in these waters by a symbolic action. Passing mere gondolas on the Grand Canal, the magnificently gilded, high-pooped Barge Bucentaur with crimson trappings made its way from the Doge's Palace to the open sea. Arrived there in company with the Papal Nuncio and other dignitaries, the Doge cast an emerald ring into the depths, pronouncing the words: "We espouse thee, sea!"

Venice has another pleasant legend concerned with the pigeons that make a fluttering grey carpet on the Piazza san Marco. Long years ago Admiral Dandolo, attacking Crete, received messages from the island by means of carrier-pigeons. In gratitude he sent the birds to Venice with the news of his conquest. Since then their descendants have had the special regard of the citizens. It would seem that they have the same feeling about Venice, for however far the pigeons venture over the waves they always return, led by the bells of the tall Campanile.

In the shadow of another cathedral, St. Stefan's in Vienna, stands a curious tree-stump at a street corner. It is called "Stock im Eisen" (Iron Stump) and bears witness to a mediæval custom associated with the ironmonger's trade. Whenever smiths' apprentices arrived in Vienna tradition demanded that they drive a nail into a certain linden tree. This eventually died; but the stump remained, embedded with many nails, for future generations to see.

Sentimental Vienna rejoices in many legends. Did not the waves of the Blue Danube bring waltzes with those boatloads of merry peasants from Upper Austria? Even the Viennese coffee-houses serve tales with their beverages. For when the Turks, who once besieged the city, at last withdrew, they had to leave behind their bags of coffee-beans. The citizens,

uncertain about this new product, did not know whether to bake, boil or fry it! However, a young Polish officer, George Kolschitzky, knew about good coffee and how to prepare it. As he had been of service to Austria, the authorities rewarded him with the bags, whereupon he opened the first coffee-house, "The Blue Bottle." The crescent-shaped rolls he served were said to express the joy of the Viennese, who could thus taste their victory over the Turks.

Further down the Danube, the city of Budapest is built on the site of ninth-century lore. Hungary as a nation owes its beginnings to Arpád from the East. He conquered the territory of many princes, except that of Zalán, who owned a long strip of country along the river. Arpád resorted to a ruse: sending the stubborn prince rich presents, only asking in return a piece of grass (to see if it was as green as that in Asia) and some water from the Danube (to know if it was as sweet as that from the Don). The compact agreed on, it turned out that the grass and the water represented the parts in dispute.

Prague, architectural gem of Czechoslovakia, has many a storied corner. By the ramparts of Hradcany Castle on the hill, Golden Lane with its queer houses and instruments tells of alchemists of the Middle Ages searching for a precious ore. Down in the Old Square fantasy is more successfully crystallized in an Astronomical Clock, playing its tricks every hour with moving figures. It could also chime the strange tale of its maker, Hanus. His masterpiece was admired so much that he was asked to put together a similar one for another city, at which the Prague councillors had him blinded. But Hanus had his revenge; he damaged the works of his clock to such an extent that it took many years before it could be mended, to tick for future generations.

Czechoslovakia's woods and meadows cradle Karlovy Vary, better known as the famed spa Carlsbad. On a hilly spur overlooking this abode of health stands the image of a stag. Legend has it that the Emperor Charles, when hunting, followed the chase to this very spot. To escape his hounds, a stag leapt from a great height to the valley, to land in a boiling spring called Sprudel, site of those curative waters for so long patronized by emperors and common folk alike.

Old Germany is a legend-land which might have been invented by the Brothers Grimm, with its fantastic turretted castles of Bavaria; its Lorelei-haunted rock by the Rhine; its "ginger-bread cottages" hidden in the Black Forest. A city telling of once-upon-a-time is Nuremberg, echoing with the fame of the cobbler-poet Hans Sachs and those other Meistersingers. Hamelin has its "House of the Rat-Charmer," versified by

Browning in "The Pied Piper," to reappear each summer leading a host of boy-rats.

The romantic Neckar flowing through Heidelberg offers the imagination a shady "Philosophers' Lane" and, in contrast, many a picturesque inn where students revive folklore in tales and harmony. Their own University has a "Witches' Tower"; and, as for the Castle, that rose-red ruin, its wine-cellars are famed for the "Heidelberg Tun." So large is this that a stairway leads to the top; yet it was once drained, so they say, by the dwarf Perkeo whose painted figure guards it.

Hans Christian Andersen of the fairy tales not only lived in Copenhagen. His inspiration is to be seen in that fascinating city whose green roofs must surely support a stork or two; whose twisted spires are really formed of dragons' tails. "The Little Mermaid" of bronze sitting on a rock by the shore is as real as a literary legend can be. There is also a Round Tower, perforce more solid, but what of its interior ramp that replaces a staircase? For it seems that Czar Peter the Great, visiting Denmark, signalized the occasion by driving up the Tower in coach-and-four.

Not far from Copenhagen, Elsinore is haunted by a legend made in England. For Shakespeare happened to pick on Kronborg Castle as the setting for *Hamlet*. The Danish Prince existed, but belonged to other parts. Yet his father's ghost still determinedly walks the battlements in annual performances of the tragedy at Elsinore, so strong have the associations become.

Amsterdam holds many secrets in its tall, gabled houses bowing to the sleepy canals. Those round mirrors on the walls were supposed to take possession of the souls of the people they reflected, while in the rooms. But Holland spread overseas, and early Dutch settlers founded a "New Amsterdam" across the Atlantic. On a rocky shore a transaction took place so unbelievable that it sounds like a legend in itself. The early Governor, Peter Minuit, managed to purchase Manhattan Island from the Indians for twenty-four dollars, a small price for the fabulous New York City to be.

DUDLEY GLASS

FOR this is the bond of men in cities,
that all shall rightly preserve the laws.

— EURIPIDES

REMEMBERING KALIDASA

[KALIDASA is the subject of many scholarly studies. Here, however, our esteemed friend **Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra** writes with a personal warmth born of long love about one who yet remains *the* Poet of India's Golden Age.—ED.]

kalānām ekavāsāya ratnānām iva sindhave
kavaye Kālidāsāya sādaraṁ kurmahe namaḥ

(To him who is a single abode of the Arts, as the sea is of jewels—to the Poet Kālidāsa I reverently make my salutations.)

THE *Kālidāsa-Smṛiti-Samāroha,* Kalidasa Remembrance Festival, has been celebrated at Ujjain this year on a more lavish and grander scale, so much so that even the President of India and many other notable personalities took part in it and vied with each other in paying tributes of praise to the great poet. This display of special exuberance marks another level of the cultural renaissance that is sweeping over the country today.

Kālidāsa is famous as Kavikulaguru (Teacher of Poets), and rightly so. Modern scholars fashionably refer to him as the Shakespeare of India. It would perhaps be more appropriate to call Shakespeare the Kālidāsa of England. It may be remembered that Kālidāsa is senior to Shakespeare by 1,200 years, if not by 1,700 years as some Indologists would have it. It is indeed tantalizing not to be able to know the exact age of Kālidāsa. True to ancient Indian tradition, Kālidāsa has been too modest to leave behind biographical details about himself. But what matter? He now belongs to eternity and has his home in the heart of every true lover of poetry.

Kālidāsa lives amongst us by seven of his currently known immortal works in Sanskrit: two lyric poems, two long poems and three plays: *Meghadūta, Ṛtusaṁhāra*; *Raghuvaṁśa, Kumārasambhava*; *Vikramorvaśi, Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Śākuntala*. It is this last that primarily attracted the attention of European savants and elicited high praise from poets of Goethe's eminence. The study of Sanskrit in Western countries thereby received fresh impetus, and the foundation was laid of what was then considered a new branch of science: Indo-Germanic Philology, or a comparative study of Indo-European languages, now better known as Indo-European Linguistics.

Kālidāsa's works embody all that is fine, noble and sublime in India's culture. In other words, Kālidāsa is an epitome of Indian culture. He was a model and a shining example to his contemporaries as well as to the

generations of poets to come, and he continues as such to this day. He has been a source of inspiration, not only to poet and playwright, but also to artist and sculptor. Echoes of his ideas have reverberated in later poetic compositions, while his pen-pictures are made visible in the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh on the one hand and in the multitude of sculptures throughout the country, belonging to the Gupta period, the Golden Age in the history of India, on the other.

There are many facets of Kālidāsa's personality as a great poet and dramatist. He is distinguished by his peculiarly delightful style, simple and lucid and yet lofty and dignified, of describing things, always with apt, original and striking similitudes. In fact, his similes constitute the most outstanding trait of his poetic compositions. In this connection, the verdict of old rhetoricians is worth quoting :—

upamā Kālidāsasya Bhāraver=artha-gauravam
Naishadhe pada-lālityam Māghe santi trayo guṇāḥ

Kālidāsa has similitude; Bhāravi has depth of meaning; the *Naishadha kāvya* has the melodiousness of words; and Māgha possesses all the three excellences.

Obviously this utterance emanated from an admirer of the laborious poet Māgha, but it accidentally points out the true characteristic of Kālidāsa's work. In the course of time, Kālidāsa's fame gave rise to many a pseudo-Kālidāsa. So many later Sanskrit poets assumed the name Kālidāsa that it became quite difficult to distinguish the real from the unreal. It became conventional then to refer to the real one as *Dīpaśikhā* Kālidāsa, or Torch-flame Kālidasa. This distinguishing appellation owes its origin to the clever use of the *dīpaśikhā* simile in a verse in the description of Indumatī's *svayaṁvara* in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Kālidāsa has significantly compared Indumatī there with a *dīpa-śikhā*, "the flame of a torch." The verse reads:—

saṁchāriṇī dīpa-śikh=eva rātrau yaṁ yaṁ vyatīyāya patiṁvarā sā
narendra-mārg-āṭṭa iva prapede vivarṇa-bhāvaṁ sa sa bhūmipālaḥ
(*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 67)

Princess Indumatī, with the *jayamālā* in her hand, is led forward, step by step, by her lady's maid, Sunandā by name, in front of the eligible princes seated in a row on tastefully decorated seats. Sunandā introduces every prince, one after the other, while Indumatī quietly moves on, her silence indicating her rejection of those princes; for ultimately she is to choose Raghu. It is the dejected condition of the rejected princes that the poet describes in the verse in question. It defies literal translation, but

it says in effect :—

> As that fair maiden, Indumatī, intent upon choosing a prince for her husband, passed by those princes one after the other in silence, the faces of those princes fell — were darkened, so to say, in the gloom of despair. It was like storeyed buildings along the main street, lit at night by the light of a big torch. As the burning torch moved forward to the next building, the one left behind was naturally enveloped in darkness.

Very often the poet is not content with one single simile. He employs a string of similes, which are an added joy and drive home the point at issue more forcefully. Consider, for instance, the description of Himālaya: how he was blessed with the birth of a daughter to him :—

> *prabhā-mahatyā śikhay=eva dīpas=trimārgay=eva tridivasya mārgaḥ*
> *saṁskāravaty=eva girā manīshī tayā sa pūtaś=cha vibhūshitś=cha*
> (*Kumārasambhava*, I. 28)

> As a lamp *is* with a big bright flame, as the path to heaven *is* with the Heavenly Ganges (the Milky Way), and as a wise man *is* with refined speech, so *was* he (Himālaya) purified and beautified with her (Pārvatī, born to him).

And how charmingly he describes Pārvatī's adolescence:—

> *asambhṛitam maṇḍanam aṅga-yashṭer=anāsav-ākhyaṁ karaṇam madasya*
> *kāmasya pushpa-vyatiriktam=astraṁ bālyāt paraṁ s=ātha vayaḥ prapede*
> (*Kumārasambhava*, I. 31)

> Now she attained to the age that immediately succeeds childhood — the age which in itself is an adornment, without ornaments, of the delicate female figure; the age which in itself is an intoxicant, without liquor; the age which in itself is another arrow of Cupid, beyond Cupid's usual (five) arrows of flowers.

Apart from poetic excellences, Kālidāsa's works reveal his vast knowledge of various branches of learning, art and music. In spite of poor means of communication in his days, Kālidāsa seems to have travelled extensively throughout the length and breadth of India quite early in life, as is evidenced by his accurate geographical descriptions, especially in the *Meghadūta*. Nothing seems to have escaped his keenly observant eye. Dr. Satya Charan Law of Calcutta, a well-known authority on ornithology, made a special study of birds and bird habits alluded to in Kālidāsa's works and has published a book in Bengali entitled *Kālidāser Pākhi*, wherein he demonstrates by appropriate illustrations how accurate and precise Kālidāsa's knowledge was with regard to the breeding and migrating habits of various species of birds in India. These are but a few

instances of Kālidāsa's profound knowledge. Here and there he gives us glimpses of his philosophy and religious propensities as well. To enlarge upon that subject is beyond the scope of this essay. It may, however, be pointed out that his typical invocations mark him out as a devout worshipper of Śiva.

B. Ch. Chhabra

"SWEDISH LITERATURE"

Like the preceding brochures, *Swedish Literature* (Contemporary World Literature Series. The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore. viii+15 pp. 1958. Re. 1.00) is brief, but communicates "a distinct feeling of the literature described." Through the works of leading Swedish writers of this century Mr. S. A. Bergmann gives a good idea of the main literary trends. He shows how in contrast to Sweden's peace and prosperity its literature is searching and pessimistic. Yet it is a vital part of Swedish life—"in it is found the soul of a largely secularized people."

With this century, young writers turned to common sense and middle-class realism, developing a form that lagged behind, *i.e.*, the novel. The most important of them, Hjalmar Bergman, presented in a bizarre way images drawn from his observations. His work is rich in humour and pathos.

Pär Lagerkvist was more subjective. He swayed from a simple lyrical acceptance of life to the agony of doubt and despair. Only in his latest novel, *Sybil* (1956), he transcends this dualism.

The thirties brought the working-class writers. The best of these, Eyvind Johnson and Harry Martinson, travelled much and have global outlooks. Johnson's mind developed from an "untutored provincialism." Martinson, universal at the outset, turned to the teachings of the East, especially Taoism. Another mystic was the poet Gunnar Ekelof.

Since the forties, Swedish writing has been centred in "fear and anxiety, in all their nuances." Stig Wagerman, obsessed by "the idea of defeat and death, seen as total destruction," became a poignant symbol of this group by his early death. But all is not chaos and gloom; Mr. Bergmann ends on an optimistic note. He mentions Lars Ahlin, whose power of compassion enables him to present weakness and evil with his approach unembittered.

Mumtaz Currim

TAKKASILA AND NALANDA

[**Shri S. K. Ramachandra Rao,** a scholarly and devoted student of Buddhist philosophy and culture, outlines here the atmosphere and intellectual temper of the famous universities of what might be called the Buddhist period of Indian culture. Since they were institutions of largely secular learning, they are the nearer to our modern conditions, and set a standard to which many modern universities may well aspire.—ED.]

I PROPOSE to invite readers' attention to a phase in the history of Indian education which, for want of a better name, may be designated as the "Buddhist period." This period marks the change-over from the *gurukula* system of education, which was prevalent during the Vedic ages, to the *vihara* system. The transition is significant. For the *gurukula* system, household life was the basic structure: the students (all celibates) lived with the teacher in his home for years at a stretch; while the *vihara* was an established monastic school where students (both monks and laity) gathered at regular periods for religious as well as secular education. In time, many of these *viharas* became full-fledged educational centres celebrated all over the country and even abroad, like Valabhī, Odantapuri, Vikramaśīla, Mithila, Jagaddala; and a few of them reached to the status of large universities, such as Takkasila and Nalanda.

The *gurukula* was run by a single scholar who gathered round him a few earnest students; these students lived with the teacher and learnt more by example than by actual precept. Owing to intimate personal contact with the teacher, opportunity was provided for the development of the student's personality on sound lines. It could truly be said that the teacher and the taught constituted a single unit: we read in the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, "*acaryaḥ pūrvarūpam, antevasyuttararūpam, vidya sandhiḥ.*" But the *vihara* had numerous teachers and a large number of students. Also, the teachers being monks and the *vihara* life being monastic, the non-residential lay students could neither emulate their teachers nor enter into personal contact with them. Thus the *vihara* was an independent educational organization which brought together the teachers and the taught for a specific purpose during the appointed hours, much as our modern schools do.

There is another aspect in which the *vihara* differed from the *gurukula*: *viharas* provided facilities for secular education in a large measure. Pali books like *Mahavagga* and *Jataka* contain frequent references to subjects like weaving and spinning, tailoring, accountancy (*gaṇana*), *lekha*, painting, medicine (*ayurveda*), surgery (*śalya*), etc. included in the *vihara*

curriculum. Famous in this aspect was the University of Takkasila.

Takkasila (Sanskrit *Takṣaśila*), transcribed by the Greek and Roman writers as Taxila, was since very ancient times an important town in the Gandhara province to the northwest of India. Situated along the high road leading from Central Asia to India, it was well known as a commercial centre, and came under the influence of as many as seven political powers: Persians, Macedonians, Bactrian Greeks, Mauryas, Scythians, Parthians and Kushaṇs. The last of the Kushaṇ Kings, Vasudeva, died in the third century and soon after, the importance of Takkasila declined. When, in the fifth century, the barbaric White Huns invaded the country, the destruction of Takkasila was complete. Fa Hien, who visited the place in the fifth century, found nothing worth mentioning, and Hiuen-Tsang in the seventh century found only the regrettable ruins of an important centre.

Takkasila as a University township has found mention in the epics and the Jataka tales. We find that it was a centre of higher education, where large numbers of students, both princes and commoners, from all parts of India crowded to complete their education. Emphasis seems to have been placed here on secular education—among the subjects of study were *trayi* (the three Vedas), *Vedanta, vyakaraṇa* (grammar), training in the Greek warcraft, astronomy, agriculture and eighteen *sippas* (arts). The great grammarian Paṇini and the eminent statesman Kauṭilya (Caṇakya) were students from Takkasila. The university was famous for medicine and surgery: Jīvaka Komarabhatta, a distinguished physician and surgeon during the Buddha's time, studied medicine in Takkasila for seven years and travelled all over the country to acquaint himself with herbs and medicinal plants. References are extant regarding his skill in operations on brain and intestines: he was invited to Ujjenī for medical consultation. Caraka, the father of Ayurveda, also seems to have been a resident of Takkasila. The importance of Takkasila as an educational centre dwindled after the fifth century. Unfortunately, details of the educational system and methods practised there are not available. Probably education belonged to a domestic system—there does not seem to have been a centrally administered university.

Universities of this type were at Nalanda, Vikramaśīla and Odantapurī. Nalanda, in modern Bihar, was the most famous. And fortunately the travel diaries of the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing as well as numerous epigraphical notices have preserved for us details concerning this great experiment on the Indian soil.

Nalanda, represented today by the neglected village Bargoan in Bihar,

known only to archæologists for the ruins, was famous even during the days of the Buddha as a prosperous township. Both the Buddha and Vardhamana Mahavīra frequented this place. It was there that Sariputta Thera, the most celebrated of the Buddha's disciples, was born, and over his *cetiya* the great Mauryan King Aśoka built a *vihara*, which served as the nucleus for the later university. The tradition of Nalanda as an educational centre grew up in stages, and the first big effort towards founding a university was made during 440 A.D. by Kumaragupta I, son of the celebrated Vikramaditya (Chandragupta II). This Kumaragupta, who was a patron of art and letters and to whose court the poet Vasubandhu was attached, was himself a Vaiṣṇava, but "respected and esteemed the law of the Buddha." He built numerous buildings round the central Saṅgharama; and this work was continued by his successors Skandagupta, Puragupta and Narasimhagupta. "A long succession of kings continued the work of the building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole building is truly marvellous to behold," writes Hiuen-Tsang. Harṣa-Śiladitya, the King of Central India, the Maukhari Kings and the Palas contributed to the expansion and stabilization of this university.

Here was another feature of the changing methods of education. The *gurukula* was a cottage, a hermitage in a village or in a wilderness. But the *viharas* had magnificent buildings attached to them. The Nalanda University had, according to *Sūtrakṛtanga*, "hundreds of buildings." Hiuen-Tsang speaks of seven *viharas* and eight halls in Nalanda; I-tsing saw seven halls with three hundred apartments. An inscription speaks of "the series of cloud-kissing towers" of the main-building—"*vasyam aṁbudharavalehi śikharaśreni-viharavali-malevordhvavirajini.*" The Library was a special feature of the Nalanda University; for Nalanda was known throughout Asia for its valuable collection of Mahayana texts and translations. The Library, named "Dharmaganja," was located in a special area and was housed in three spacious buildings: "Ratnasagara," "Ratnodadhi," "Ratnaranjaka." The first was a nine-storied building. The students were accommodated in thirteen monasteries, ruins of which have now been excavated. Thus it was hardly an exaggeration when an inscription described Nalanda as "decorated by the ring of famous monasteries"—*Śrīmadvihara-pariharavibhūṣita.*

Nalanda was a vast educational complex, celebrated throughout Asia, and it continued to be prosperous for about seven centuries. There were, according to Hiuen-Tsang, 10,000 resident scholars: 1,500 teachers and 8,500 students. There were students from China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Tukhara. I-tsing counted 56 scholars from abroad. Hiuen-Tsang himself

was a resident student for five years, and I-tsing for ten years. A student from Nalanda was held in high esteem throughout the country and even abroad. Trained scholars like Śantarakṣita, Padmasaṁbhava, Kamalaśīla, Kumarajīva and Paramartha went to Tibet and China, and contributed greatly to the dissemination of Indian culture. Among teachers there were the most eminent in the land: Dharmapala, Śīlabhadra, Gunamati, Prabhamitra, Dignaga and Rahulabhadra. Even Aryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Nagarjuna were associated with the Nalanda University.

It was essentially a post-graduate institution, although provision was made for primary (for students between eight and thirteen) and secondary (between thirteen and twenty) education. Admission was scrupulously restricted; rigorous oral entrance-examinations were conducted by the *dvarapaṇḍitas* (gate-professors), and not more than two or three out of ten could pass. Only the most brilliant and accomplished of the students could hope to enter the portals of Nalanda. Once the student was admitted, he was in for discipline of a severe kind. Hiuen-Tsang notes that during the several hundred years it endured Nalanda did not witness a single guilty rebellion. And the students who assembled here belonged to diverse schools and creeds and countries, but there was perfect harmony. A historian has aptly described Nalanda as "an experiment in liberality of teaching"—students discussed and disputed on an intellectual plane only, and differences did not jeopardize happy human relations. The entire university lived and progressed as one family. It is interesting to note that the general affairs of the university were administered by a democratic body of the students themselves.

Although the university was nominally the centre of Mahayana Buddhism, it was in fact a temple of higher learning in all arts and letters known to the age. I-tsing mentions that the compulsory subjects taught included grammar and lexicography (*śabdavidya*), arts and crafts (*śilpasthanavidya*), the science of medicine (*cikitsavidya*), logic (*hetu-vidya*), and philosophy (*adhyatmavidya*). Texts of the eighteen Hīnayana schools, Samkhya, Yogaśastra, astronomy and Tantras were also taught. Nalanda was the centre of the diffusion of Mahayana culture. In the Nalanda University were made a large number of excellent bronze images of Tantric deities connected with *vajrayana, tantrayana* and *kalacakra*. It directly influenced the art of Java.

The educational method was chiefly tutorial. Small groups of five or six students were under the care of a teacher. The students not only listened to the lectures of the most eminent professors in the land (there were arrangements for a hundred lectures every day) and pored over the

valuable texts in the library, but engaged themselves in continual discussions. The art of formal disputation played a leading rôle in the educational system at Nalanda. Sanskrit was the medium of instruction, and the contribution of Nalanda to the development of Sanskrit literature is immense.

The needs of the students in regard to boarding, lodging and clothing were looked after by the University; and the education was free. Towards the maintenance of this huge establishment went the revenue of about two hundred tax-free villages. The royal support and the public interest rendered the University self-sufficient and a rewarding place of higher learning and research, until the twelfth century, when the heartless Muslim invaders led by Bakhtiyar Khilji destroyed it completely. The buildings were razed to the ground, the library was burnt and the monks were massacred. But it should be noted with pride that Nalanda never declined: it died at the height of its glory.

There were, besides Takkasila and Nalanda, other centres of learning such as Valabhī in Western India, which had a leaning towards Hīnayana; Vikramaśīla near Nalanda, founded in the eighth century by King Dharmapala; Jagaddala founded by Ramapala of Bengal in the eleventh century; and Odantapurī of the Pala Kings. In all these, secular learning was at least as important as the sacred: often it was more important. The educational establishments of this period served their purpose exceedingly well; for in the stabilization, development and expansion of Indian culture their rôle is definite and significant.

S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO

THE EDITOR regrets that owing to an unexpected mechanical difficulty at the press the diacritical mark had to be omitted from ā throughout the above article. The words affected follow in their proper spelling, and are arranged in the order of their first occurrence: *vihāra*, Vikramaśīlā, Mithilā, Jāgaddalā, Takkasilā, Nālandā, *āchāryaḥ*, *vidyā*, *Mahāvagga*, *Jātaka*, *gaṇanā*, *lekhā*, *āyurveda*, Gāndhāra, Kushāṇ, Vāsudeva, *Vedānta*, *vyākaraṇa*, Pāṇini, Cāṇakya, Komārabhatta, Vardhamāna Mahāvira, Kumāragupta, Vikramāditya, *Sanghārāma*, Śilāditya, *Sūtrakṛtānga*, *"vasyām ambudharāvalehi śikharaśreni-vihārāvali-mālevordhvavirājini,"* Mahāyāna, Ratnasāgara, *Śrīmadvihāraparivaravibhūṣita*, Śāntarakṣita, Kumārajīva, Paramārtha, Dharmapāla, Prabhāmitra, Dignāga, Rāhulabhadra, Āryadeva, Nāgārjuna, *dvārapaṇḍita*, *śabdavidyā*, *śilpasthānavidyā*, *cikitsāvidyā*, *hetuvidyā*, *adhyātmavidyā*,, Hīnayāna, Sāṃkhya, Yogaśāstra, *vajrayāna*, *tantrayāna*, *kālachakra*, Dharmapāla, Rāmpāla and Pāla.

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

"A JOURNEY TO REALITY"*

THIS is a remarkable book and its author, a distinguished surgeon and thinker, deserves our respect for laying bare so fearlessly and clearly his spiritual development, his honest self-questioning, his sustained effort at discovering his true Self in relation to the Great Mystery. As a personal record of spiritual striving, of seeking the Truth, it is revealing. The author leads his readers on his own journey to Being, to Reality. It is a long journey which begins with Plato and Plotinus, passes the great mediæval mystics and ends with recent and present-day philosophers and scientists. In a sense it is an Odyssey of a soul yearning for self-fulfilment and communion with a greater Self (I intentionally avoid the term "God"). Synthesis is always something personal, subjective. If it is based on so personal an experience as the author's it cannot be expected to serve as a pattern to others who have not had and perhaps are not likely to have the same experience.

Far be it from me to belittle and criticize what, for Dr. Walker, has been a profound spiritual and intellectual experience; something leading to peace of mind, to self-consciousness, to knowledge of Being, to a feeling of Oneness with, again, I cannot say: God.

This leads me to registering my own growing uneasiness that it is not only dangerous to rationalize self-revelation into an "Intelligent Man's Way to God" (if I may coin such a term), but that it is also not enough to proclaim the unity of religions and to want it, without being acutely aware that only if we are deeply rooted in one religion can we hope to contribute to that unity which we all desire. The first, elementary requirement is understanding and the will to understand the character of the religions which we want to unite by stressing what they have in common: aim and purpose. Here I must admit that the ideas which Dr. Walker has about Judaism and Islam cast doubt on the successful synthesis of the great religions which he desires, and which synthesis alone seems to hold out any hope of halting the trend to wholesale destruction and the working towards a peaceful co-existence of all men, who are not alike in greed and lust but kindred in spirit, in their longing for justice, peace, brotherhood and love.

We are all aware that technical advance has not led to spiritual advance. Intellectual or artistic greatness is not often matched by goodness of character, by good fellowship and mutual trust and helpfulness. It is no wonder that the author turns eastwards towards Buddhism. The West has failed to do for the heart and the soul what it has achieved for the inventive, rational mind. The world is one only for destruction by atom and hydrogen bombs. We have discovered mass media for extinction. The mass media of communication have so far not brought us a whit nearer to one another.

We are in danger of relapsing into barbarism. With admiration and much profit I have read what Dr. Walker has to say about consciousness. Here the scientist in him is at his best. He

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* *So Great a Mystery*. By KENNETH WALKER. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London. 224 pp. 9158. 18*s*.)

lucidly explains not only the theories of modern psychologists, but he relates their findings to the truly human quest for self-knowledge and self-fulfilment. But I ask myself what good is consciousness without a conscience? A conscience demands knowledge, but a different knowledge which goes beyond what man can find out. We know what is good for us (or at least we think we know), but if we want to unite mankind we must apply absolute standards, accept a Good which may well be out of reach for fallible man, but which is at least the same for all and not bad for others than ourselves. That Good we might discover in ourselves, God may be within us, and we may discover the fact by becoming conscious of our real Self.

Dr. Walker is a mystic, and he sees in mysticism the fulfilment of man's quest for truth, for wholeness, for knowledge of self, of being, of reality. He acknowledges the necessity for ritual, for form, but he does not think much of religions which stress behaviour, like Judaism and Islam. He is entitled to think that Judaism is a fossil, that it is what the New Testament polemically says of Scribes and Pharisees. But this view blinds him to the real nature of the religions that he considers legalistic. They rightly stress ethical behaviour, the harmony between consciousness and conscience, the need for a discipline to achieve that harmony. These religions think that by being humble, by doing right, by loving our neighbour as ourselves, we become conscious of God in knowledge and love.

If we aim at a world religion which will unite us all for life and not for death, for constructive peaceful work and not for mutual destruction, we cannot achieve such desperately needed unity by grafting Vedism on to Christianity for example. As a theosophy Vedism, expounded so lucidly and persuasively by Dr. Bhagavan Das, is certainly a splendid way to the identification of God and man. But this is not the way a Jew or Christian or Muslim sees it. Now Dr. Walker knows the difference, of course, and actually says that we need different religions. But he does not seem to realize that these differences have become more pronounced and hard in the historical process over a long period of time and that they result in a difference in approach which is again historically conditioned. Hence the ways to the same goal must needs be and remain different in accordance with the historical consciousness of the adherents of those religions. It is not nominal Jews, Christians or Muhammedans I have so much in mind as conscious believers in these faiths.

The mystical union with what is called God or the Good or Truth or Love is vouchsafed to the few and on rare occasions, as a rule. Regretfully, I doubt whether Mysticism of the Jewish, Christian, Muslim or Buddhist types can ever secure for the large masses of spiritually hungry, non-mystically inclined persons that intimate union of consciousness which I personally consider indispensable if we ever want to build a united front of truly human minds and souls all over the globe which, thanks to technical advance and ingenuity, has become so small.

If I appear sceptical about Dr. Walker's solution I am none the less grateful to him for having written this sincere confession of his personal way to God. I hope it will compel others who may have doubts like myself to search their own hearts and minds and to think afresh about this perennial problem of self-fulfilment, even if they cannot accept for themselves mystical self-abandonment as the answer to their quest for God.

ERWIN I. J. ROSENTHAL

The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought. By CARSUN CHANG. (Vision Press, Ltd., London. 376 pp. 1958. 50*s*.)

Early Confucianism was a code of personal conduct and a method of government rather than a religion or philosophy. But during the Sung dynasty (960-1279) the Neo-Confucians created a metaphysical system in order to defend the moral and practical values of Confucianism against Buddhism, which had brought from India a philosophy intellectually more coherent than any previously known in China.

Very little is available in Western languages about this movement; yet although the Sung philosophy shows less variety and originality than that of the great creative period of the "Hundred Schools" (500-200 B.C.), it is also much closer to the Western ideal of a consistent philosophical system. Dr. Chang has given us, for the first time in English, a comprehensive account of the movement from its beginnings during the T'ang dynasty (618-907) to the end of the Sung, including lengthy extracts from the writings and sayings of all the major Neo-Confucian thinkers. Dr. Chang writes on p. 40:—

> I have meticulously avoided making any distortion which would seem to bring Chinese philosophy closer to Western thought than it actually is.

It seems doubtful, however, whether Dr. Chang quite realizes the difficulties involved in making good this claim. His usual method of introducing a Chinese concept is simply to identify it with a familiar Western concept, making no attempt to analyze the differences between them. The uninstructed reader is bound to draw the misleading conclusion that the Neo-Confucians used the same concepts that he uses, such as Reason (*li*, or *ri* in Dr. Chang's transliteration), Matter (*ch'i*) and Truth (*ch'eng*), but in an unpardonably vague and muddled way. There is room here for only one example. One of the two basic terms in Neo-Confucianism is *ch'i*, "breath, air." The *ch'i*, sometimes pure and freely moving, sometimes impure and inert, is the basic material of the universe; things are conceived, not as composed of solid matter, but as condensing out of and dissolving into breath or air. The difference between *ch'i* and matter leads to important differences between Chinese and Western ways of thinking about the world; thus, while the tendency in the West has been to think of matter as inert unless moved from outside, *ch'i* is self-moving unless clogged by its impurity. If such distinctions are not made plain to the reader, nothing which the Neo-Confucians say about *ch'i* is likely to make much sense. Yet Dr. Chang introduces *ch'i* without mentioning that it is in the first place breath or air, simply observing, without explanation or qualification, that it "may be interpreted as 'matter' or 'being.'" (p. 171). The fact that a regrettably large number of the quotations from Neo-Confucians sound nonsensical in English is not due to any weakness in Dr. Chang's English, let alone his Chinese, but to his failure to look squarely at this type of problem.

A. C. GRAHAM

Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Orthodoxy. By F. RAHMAN. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 118 pp. 1958. 15*s*.)

This first systematic study of the theory of prophecy in Islam is important and valuable. The subject has been treated before by a number of scholars over the last twenty years or so, but not, as here, by and for itself. Dr. Rahman concentrates on Al-Farabi and Avicenna among the *Falasifa*, the Mus-

lim philosophers. His exposition of their theories as such and in their relation to Greek and Hellenistic ideas, advances the discussion appreciably and represents a decisive contribution to a better understanding of this puzzling and complex problem.

In tracing the theory to classical Greek and Neo-Platonic, and especially to Stoic sources, he has benefited from the work of Dr. Simon van den Bergh to whom, as a fitting tribute, the book is dedicated. But it may be asked whether he does not perhaps overstate his case when he tries to find for the Islamic component of that theory a source in Panaitius. The political character of prophecy need not be derived from Stoic "civil theology" but can be adequately explained by the character of Islam and its founder-prophet and first ruler, Muhammad.

Revelation takes the form of law: hence the common ground between Greek and Hellenistic political thought and mediæval Muslim, Jewish and Christian thought. Parallelism there undoubtedly is, but despite Dr. Rahman's brilliant analysis the existence of literary influence and borrowing does not seem to be clearly established.

This is, however, not the place to enter into a detailed criticism of a thoughtful and stimulating study supported by a wealth of relevant, learned notes. It is somewhat surprising that Averroes should largely figure in the notes only and not have received separate treatment. Is it because his concept of prophecy is traditionalist and does not agree with that of the *Falasifa*?

The book is divided into three chapters. The first deals with the Muslim philosophers' Doctrine of Intellect. It sets the tone of the investigation and clearly demonstrates the Greek origin of this doctrine. The discussion of the prophetic intellect leads on to the second chapter, on "Prophecy," with its subdivisions: The Intellectual Revelation; The Technical or Imaginative Revelation; Miracles, Prayer, Theurgy; The Mission and the Law. It is in this section that one misses references to other scholars who dealt with prophecy in Islam, with the exception of P. Louis Gardet who comes in for criticism. It seems to the present reviewer that P. Gardet's sensitive, profound interpretation of the religious thought of Avicenna remains supreme. In particular, it does full justice to the Islamic elements of Avicenna's theory of prophecy, more so than Dr. Rahman's analytical study with his emphasis on Stoic antecedents. The third chapter grapples, under the title "Philosophical Doctrine and the Orthodoxy," with the opposition of Muslim theologians and post-Ghazalian thinkers to the *Falasifa*, with relevant illustrations, from Ibn Hazm, Al-Ghazali, Al-Shahrastani, Ibn Taymiya, and Ibn Khaldun.

Disagreement on points of detail, or a different emphasis, must not be allowed to minimize the real value of this detailed study of the crucial problem of prophecy and law in Islam as it is seen by its theologians, philosophers and historians, and is here set out by Dr. Rahman with so much learning and penetration.

ERWIN I. J. ROSENTHAL

Aditi and Other Deities in the Veda. By M. P. PANDIT. (Sri Aurobindo Study Circle, Madras. 185 pp. 1958. Rs. 3.00)

Who are the Vedic deities — mere personified natural phenomena or manifestations of the Supreme Divinity — and what is their significance to us? These are the main subjects of discussion in this collection of learned articles originally contributed to the journals of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram. Shri Pandit confines his study to only Aditi, Surya and the Maruts, though

other gods like Agni, Indra and Varuna are often referred to and their invaluable help in divinizing human life is emphasized. To him Aditi, far from being a symbol of freedom or an object of allegory or a name indicating a vast expanse of space, as Western scholars have differently thought, is verily the Mother of Gods, the Matṛtama. Surya, likewise, is not our visible geographical Sun but "the supreme Effulgence in the highest firmament above," to quote Shri Kapali Sastriar, to whom, by the way, the present book is inscribed. And the Maruts are neither personified souls nor storm-elements but children of Rudra and Prishni almost unparalleled for their benevolence and beatitude. Only a Yogi and seer like Sri Aurobindo could truly and succinctly describe their divine mysteries:—

> The Vedic Deities are names, powers, personalities of the Universal Godhead and they represent each some essential puissance of the Divine Being. They manifest the cosmos and are manifest in it. Children of Light, Sons of the Infinite, they recognize in the soul of man their brother and ally and desire to help and increase him by themselves increasing in him so as to possess his world with their light, strength and beauty.

Instinctively one nods assent to this view of "divine companionship and alliance." With its bold, attractive print and get-up, this volume, within whose pages lies unfolded a wealth of scholarship and research, must make its appeal to many readers.

R. BANGARUSWAMI

Classical Persian Literature. By A. J. ARBERRY. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 464 pp. 1958. 35*s*.)

Professor Arberry's aim in this book is, while taking note of recently published material, to give an account of classical Persian literature in one volume

> for the assistance of students coming newly to the subject, as well as for the enjoyment of the wider public interested to discover the sum of what the poets and writers of Persia produced during the golden age.

In contrast to E. G. Browne's massive *Literary History of Persia* this work pays little attention to the historical background, which is briefly sketched in the Introduction. The body of the work is thus devoted to the writers themselves and to specimens of their writing (in translation). These are sometimes made by himself, sometimes taken from a wide variety of European works. Occasionally different versions are given for the sake of comparison. This leads naturally to an account of the growth of European interest in the chief figures and of the attempts to give European renderings of the poems of men like Hafiz and Jami.

Classical Persian literature commences in the tenth century and its course is followed to the end of its golden age with Jami in the fifteenth century. Every literary figure of note is discussed. The views of critics through the centuries on the merits of the great writers are given, together with Professor Arberry's own estimate of the present state of opinion. Outstanding literary problems are noted, and the questions at issue outlined.

One surmises that Professor Arberry was chiefly concerned with "the enjoyment of the wider public." The main facts are all given, but given in such a readable style that one fails to notice how much has been packed into four hundred pages, while one is being carried forward by the fascination of the material itself. Many people are now concerned to promote deeper mutual understanding between East and West. This book is undoubtedly an important contribution to the growth of that understanding.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT

Ramayana. By SHUDHA MAZUMDAR. (Orient Longmans, Bombay. 540 pp. 1958. Rs. 10.00)

While on her way to a Social Service Conference in Madras during the difficult days of 1947, the author found herself in a train which was held up at a little wayside station for 42 hours. Travelling with her was a young American Quaker whose interest in Indian life and thought appeared to be endless, and in answer to whose queries she related various incidents from the *Ramayana*. Her interlocutor was so impressed that she made the author promise to write them down for the benefit of Western readers, and this promise has now been redeemed.

Shrimati Mazumdar bases her excellent translation on the Krittivasa *Ramayana*, the Bengali version of this great national epic, which, since Krittivasa was a poet in his own right, has been embellished by additional incidents and picturesque local colour. Shrimati Mazumdar's simple but effective prose proves an adequate medium for narrating this familiar but eternally acceptable tale with its inspiring portrayal of Rama as the ideal son, the ideal king, the ideal hero, the beloved of the gods; of Sita the ideal wife; of Lakshmana the exemplary brother; and Bharata whose fraternal devotion knew no bounds. The inspiring Ormuzd-Ahriman struggle, culminating in the triumph of good over evil, the atmosphere of fantasy symbolizing profoundly philosophical truths, the loftiness, vigour and poetry of this great epic, emerge vividly in the present translation. The book successfully fulfils the purpose for which it was intended and will appeal to readers in this country as well as in the West for its simplicity and charm.

HILLA C. VAKEEL

Religious Guidance. By JACOB LEIBOWITZ. (Philosophical Library, New York. 100 pp. 1958. $ 2.75)

This book will be of interest to those who are seeking but have not yet found a philosophy of life. Not that they will find here any ready-made philosophy or religious guidance. The value of these ninety short but stimulating articles is that they point, in very simple language, to principles which every seeker must sooner or later use, in his own way, to establish in his life that sense of the presence of God, that spiritual insight, which is the very foundation of religious life.

Rabbi Jacob Leibowitz, of New York, is a former Vice-President of the Rabbinical Council of America and holds many religious offices in both an executive and advisory capacity. He is the author of several books and is equally active in civic and welfare organizations. It is clear that his writing is based on the thoughtful interpretation of a wide range of experience of people and the problems that beset them in the modern world. His articles here give brief hints on such subjects as marriage, juvenile delinquency, fear, guilt, suffering, prayer and brotherhood, and fall into four sections, "We and Ourselves," "We and Our Family," "We and Our God" and "We and Our Fellow Men."

The most common reaction to life's problems centres upon an attempt to alter circumstances. It is a great thing to learn, as the Rabbi emphasizes in various ways, that change must first be subjective and is "best accomplished by developing a love for God and for higher spiritual values."

IRENE R. RAY

Church and Race in South Africa. Papers from South Africa, 1952-57, Illustrating the Churchs' Search for the Will of God. Edited by DAVID M. PATON. (SCM Press, Ltd., London. 127 pp. 1958. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

The Rev. David Paton, well known for his work in China and for his outspoken criticisms of the pattern of Christian work there, has selected a number of papers from South Africa, 1952-57, to show how Christians there are coming to terms with the current tragic troubles, and to help people outside to gain a greater and more compassionate understanding of the Church's struggle with the race problem. The documents are printed as they were received and the clearly distinguished editorial comments are designed only to make the context clear. The selections from the charges to the Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg by Bishop Ambrose Reeves make clear what is the mind and purpose of that courageous, clear-minded but often ill-reported Christian leader.

G. C. Grant, one-time captain of the West Indies Cricket team, gives a simple, poignant account of the events leading to the liquidation of Adams College, Natal, of which he was principal. No comment or underlining is needed to make clear what can happen to an institution about which the President of the Alumni Association can write:—

> Adams College stood for important matters of faith, one of which was that all men are brothers regardless of race and colour and should live as such.

Other and briefer documents throw light on the views of the Dutch Reformed, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. The book ends with poems and prayers, *e.g.*, W. Blake's "The Little Black Boy," and a prayer for integration used in Zululand. Two pages are left blank "for additional prayers." We can make no fitter comment on this book than to say that it is likely that many readers will wish to make use of these.

MARCUS WARD

A Search for Man's Sanity: The Selected Letters of TRIGANT BURROW *with Biographical Notes.* Foreword by HERBERT READ. (Oxford University Press, New York. 615 pp. 1958. $ 8.75)

The psychoanalytic movement as it originated with Freud did yeoman's service in bringing to light many of the most obscure regions of the human mind. But the theoretical bias with which Freud worked was highly speculative and soon some of his most prominent disciples like Jung and Adler were forced to secede from the movement and form their own independent schools of interpretation. Dr. Trigant Burrow also began his work as an orthodox Freudian in the United States, but, faced with some new problems, found the Freudian position inadequate and unsatisfactory. He supplemented the individual analysis of Freud with a group analysis and emphasized social factors in the development of mental disorders. Naturally this deviation from the individualistic approach of Freud was not to the liking of orthodox Freudians, and he was often misunderstood and criticized. But his social approach was appreciated not only by sociologists but also by men of letters like D. H. Lawrence and Sir Herbert Read.

In the selected letters now published in this volume we feel the impact of a genial personality and of a man who was inspired all through his life by a feeling of human fellowship. He wanted all of us to feel the bonds that unite us and worked against every form of factionalism. His letters also reveal a healthy belief in the power of

persuasion to convince the critic and to convert him to one's own standpoint. We find in this volume interesting and illuminating letters addressed, among others, to Freud, Jung, Havelock Ellis, D. H. Lawrence and Sherwood Anderson.

Dr. Burrow attempted to understand human conflict or tension not in the isolated individual but in its socio-biological context. Hence his faith in group analysis. It must be noted, however, that any psychological approach, be it individualistic or social in its orientation, cannot do justice to the metaphysical roots of the human mind and can only regard religion at most "as a symbolic attempt on the part of man to reach a more co-ordinated type of experience and behaviour." But Dr. Burrow's social therapy and his emphasis on the social implications of nervous disorders are of lasting value and provide a wholesome corrective to the unwarranted generalizations of Freudians.

At a time when tensions are growing in society and conflicts abound, the publication of the letters of a man who was a pioneer in this field of study is most welcome. They may give some new clues to the understanding of tensions and encourage us to assess the problem of individual conflicts in a new light.

S. VAHIDUDDIN

Discovering the Real Self. By E. F. McDANIEL. (Phiolosophical Library, New York. 116 pp. 1958. $ 3.75)

This is not a book on psychology. It is a layman's exposition of the ideas of Korzybski, which he called by the name General Semantics. It is not on the semantics which philosophers like Carnap have been expounding. Korzybski means by "semantic reactions" emotions, likes, dislikes, language, etc., which are reactions of the human organism to the environment.

It is the contention of this book that each man is a group of processes — not a substantial identity — in an environment, and cannot and should not be understood apart from it. But mistakenly man takes himself to be apart from the environment, develops a language as if he is a body, mind or soul (p. 61), misunderstands the world and misinterprets himself. Aristotelian logic was based on this misinterpretation and gave rise to a number of false ideas like God, sin and punishment, which have produced immense human suffering. If man follows the non-Aristotelian logic of Korzybski and develops a new language which gives a true picture of the world processes, he will react to the world as he should, and the world's evils will come to an end.

The book is interesting to read and contains interesting ideas like plants as chemistry-binders, animals as space-binders and men as time-binders. But one wonders whether Aristotelian logic committed such a great crime as this book makes out. And why should philosophy start with the basic physical processes in order to understand man and not with man's conscious being, of which he is more sure than of anything else? These questions remain unanswered. However, none will deny that scientific knowledge is necessary for the proper adjustment of man to his environment. But one again doubts whether the evils of the world are mainly due to the language we use. All the great philosophical and religious traditions, not only of the East but also of the West, declare that man's ethical nature must progress before moral and social evil can be overcome. Regarding physical evils, certainly man's knowledge of the environment can help in reducing them, again provided his ethical nature is healthy. The

Indian thinker would say that ethical progress is more important than progress in the reconstruction of language. Along with ethical and scientific progress, progress and purification of logic and language also can take place.

P. T. RAJU

Leaves from Philip's Scrapbook. Collected by ALICE GILBERT. With a Foreword by SIR ADRIAN BOULT (C. W. Daniel Company, Ltd., Ashingdon, Rochford, Essex, England. 80 pp. 1958. 6*s*.)

These spiritualist writings are a continuation of earlier "communications" — *Philip in Two Worlds,* etc. — Philip having been the only son (killed in an accident) of Mrs. Alice Gilbert, B.A., D.LITT. She refers to "his gay, slangy, acutely penetrating mind," but the style throughout, whether labelled Philip, the unknown Master or Alice, is consistently that of a sensitive literary person who has obviously read (but does not acknowledge, except in very general terms) *The Secret Doctrine* by H. P. Blavatsky, and probably some of the spiritualistically-influenced Neo-Theosophical works. A random quotation reads:—

> ...there is no Space in Reality.... There seemed to be a consensus of BEING, gleaming deep brilliant gold in the "landscape." It was a part of the very "air" and yet, it was BEING. I do not know if they had individual Egos, for the whole lay wrapped in brooding ecstasy.

Mrs. Gilbert challenges "those psychologists and others who frown on any idea of communication with other levels of existence, to explain me satisfactorily otherwise!" Yet in the next sentence she refers to the "strange elusive processes of the thought world," and she would gain from reading more by the "early occultists," such articles, for example, as "The Sheaths of the Soul" by W. Q. Judge, which indicate the nature of the vast varieties of consciousness and range of sensoriums open to the inner astral man, and which prove so deluding, unless one is trained to interpret them correctly.

E. W.

The Atomization of Modern Art. By MAX PICARD. Translated by S. GODMAN. (Vision Press, Ltd., London. 38 pp. 1958. 10*s*. 6*d*.)

It is impossible to do justice to this essay in a couple of hundred words, for it is nothing less than a *critique,* written with masterly brevity and point, not only of contemporary art, but also of the contemporary man who produces it and of contemporary society which produces him. Its title would have been more correctly and meaningfully translated as "Atomization in Modern Art," Professor Picard's concern being to show how the abstract art of today corresponds "to the disintegration of reality itself and the disintegration of consciousness," and how "the atom bomb which cannot tolerate the existence of any surviving wholeness is the consummation of this process."

He does so with extraordinary insight into the plight of contemporary Western man, whose cardinal error is egocentrically to regard himself as an autonomous and self-existent creature. As such he is lost, divorced from any reality greater than his own, self-alienated from the ordered universal whole in which he has his being, and capable of creating nothing but that which is as fragmented and disorderly as himself. As a summary examination of the human

condition as it is reflected in a single human activity at the present time this essay could not be surpassed.

R. H. WARD

A TIME FOR SILENCE

A POINT that needs constant reiteration is that it is the human mind, with its separative reasoning, and its love of comparisons, that makes for disunity among men, especially when that mind rests on a basis of unconscious desire and conditioned habits. J. B. Corbett Jowett, Lecturer in Philosophy, and Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, amplified the point in a most stimulating way in a wireless talk reported in the *Listener*. He said:—

In politics there are times for silence, just as much as there are times for speech. While there are occasions when men require the proclamation of a common faith, there are others when it is only in the silence of theory that new common actions, and so eventually new common thoughts, can start to grow. We are living now in such a twilight. The price of human survival is that we all must sacrifice at least part of our political ideas; but these ideas are so fixed and comprehensive that we cannot make concessions or argue our way out of them to something new.

But all political experience suggests that in this kind of situation there is only one profitable method of attack. We must try not to think of any social issues in the set terms prescribed by either theory, however much we may prefer the one competing system to the other. More, we must refuse to debate their merits. More, we should not even raise the question of debate between them. Instead, all our attention must be fixed upon the practical points which any settlement involves; and any introduction of an ideological theme, no matter how congenial, should be put aside as pointless. That is the way in which, for instance, Catholics and Protestants came to live in peace with one another. No point of doctrine was ever settled, no agreement to differ was ever reached, but thought and action were divided by a quiet scepticism, and new forms of common action grew up between parties who seemed to be irreconcilable.

The mystics have always taught that when the mind is freed from the passions below, then it can begin to reflect the compassion from above. "A quiet scepticism" of our lower mind is good preparation for wisdom. Yoga, or union, is both equanimity of mind and skill in the performance of action.

THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF WORLD CULTURE

[WE PRINT below the interesting survey of the transmission of medical ideas which was made by **Major-General S. L. Bhatia, I.M.S. (Retd.)** in a lecture to the Indian Institute of World Culture, Basavangudi, Bangalore, under the chairmanship of Shri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, on August 12th, 1958. It has been a little condensed to meet the limitations of space.—ED.]

GREEK MEDICINE IN ASIA

MEDICINE is the oldest of Sciences. Theology and Medicine were the earliest manifestations of the growth of the human intellect. In India, we have three main systems of Medicine, namely, the Ayurvedic, the Unani and the Modern System. The Unani is the Old Greek system of Medicine, which came to India mainly with the Muslims, although there was contact between Greek and Ayurvedic medicine at a much earlier period, some centuries before the Christian era. Modern Medicine, in fact, is Greek Medicine as it developed in Europe after the Renaissance. It came to India from the seventeenth century onwards owing to our contact with the British and other Western nations.

We shall now confine our attention mainly to the Old Greek or Unani system of medicine, and study how it came to India and other parts of Asia.

The ancient Greeks took their knowledge of medicine mostly from Egypt and Babylon. They were also influenced by the Ayurvedic medicine of the Hindus in India. This happened when Alexander the Great invaded India in 327 B.C. At that time Ayurvedic medicine was in a flourishing state. It is recorded that Alexander was much impressed with the Hindu physicians' skill and even took some back with him to Greece.

Greek Medicine came to Asia again at a later period, the history of which we shall attempt to explore.

The rational attitude towards life which the Greeks developed influenced their attitude towards disease and death. The greatest of Greek physicians was Hippocrates, who is commonly known as the "Father of Medicine." He was a contemporary of Plato, and was born in 460 B.C. at Cos off the Coast of Asia Minor. He died about the year 357 B.C. He taught medicine in the Medical School at Cos and also lectured and practised at Athens and other Greek cities. His teachings are contained in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (Hippocratic Collection). It is full of knowledge and wisdom and is as fresh today as it was when it was written. It includes the treatises "Aphorisms," "Prognostics," "Epidemics," "Diet," "Acute Diseases," "Wounds of the Head," "Airs, Waters and Places" and the Physicians' Oath.

It was a brilliant period in the history of Greece. The great achievement of Hippocrates consists in having dissociated medicine from theology and magic. He laid stress on the clinical examination of the patient more than on anything else. He introduced ethical principles into the practice of medicine, which are much the same as those laid down by Charaka and Sushruta, who preceded Hippocrates by centuries. The famous Oath of Hippocrates is known all the world over and still forms the basis of the ethics of the medical profession today. He

raised medicine to the status of a science and placed it on a high pedestal by combining it with the humanities.

Hippocrates also propounded a humoural theory of disease. He suggested that the human body had four qualities — dry, moist, hot and cold — and four humours, *viz.*, blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile. Derangement of one or more of these humours caused sickness. This hypothesis is very similar to the theory of *Tridosha* (*Vata*, *Pitta* and *Kafa*) of Ayurvedic medicine.

Then came another great man, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), who was a pupil of Plato. He was not a practising physician himself, but included medical science in his comprehensive studies. Like Hippocrates he insisted on the scientific method in studying health and disease.

After Aristotle the glory of Greece began to fade, and the Hippocratic tradition moved to Alexandria in Egypt. Here a medical school was established about the year 300 B.C., where the teachings were those of Hippocrates. The sciences of anatomy and physiology were here studied and taught. This was made possible by the introduction of the dissection of the human body. Owing to the custom of mummification of the dead bodies in Egypt, the Egyptians had gained a fair knowledge of the human body.

By the first century of the Christian Era the centre of civilization had shifted from Greece to Rome. But medicine in Rome was Greek medicine and all the great physicians in Rome were Greeks.

For long after the death of Hippocrates there were no genuine doctors in Rome. Greek doctors made their first appearance in Rome about the beginning of the second century B.C. In 90 B.C. Asclepiades, a Greek physician, appeared in Rome. He was born at Bythnia, educated at Athens and attended the Medical School of Alexandria. He quickly gained in reputation and was known as the Prince of Physicians. In treatment he showed a marked preference for suitable diet, massage and rest over the administration of drugs. He was a keen and patient observer and was responsible for classifying diseases into acute and chronic.

The greatest figure in Greco-Roman medicine after Hippocrates was Claudius Galen, who was born in 131 A.D. in the town of Pergamus in Asia Minor. He studied medicine at Alexandria, which had the best Medical School at the time. He also visited Greece. In 162 A.D. he came to Rome. Marcus Aurelius was then the Emperor, and Roman civilization was at the height of its glory. Medicine in Rome had not advanced to the same extent as in Greece. There were many sects and schools of thought. Galen soon became the most renowned physician in Rome. He wrote a great deal. During his lifetime, he is said to have written some five hundred treatises on medical subjects of which a hundred have survived. He practised dissection, but, as dissection of the human body was forbidden in Rome, he dissected monkeys and other animals. He was truly a scientist and believed in the experimental method.

Galen died in 200 A.D. His influence remained dominant in medicine during perhaps 1,200 years. He codified all Greco-Roman medicine from the time of Hippocrates and made many contributions of his own. His writings were the standard textbooks in medicine for centuries. His authority remained supreme, and this unfortunately served as a check to further progress.

After the Greek civilization went down, its culture first continued in Alexandria and then at Rome. When the Roman Empire broke up, its culture disappeared from Europe for a thousand years. After the death of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, the Roman

Empire began to crumble, and Rome itself became untenable. The seat of Government was transferred to Constantinople, and with it went the science of medicine. The medical schools disappeared. The Greek manuscripts were lost or destroyed. Medicine was no longer a science. For centuries, it seemed as if Hippocrates and Galen had laboured in vain.

While in Europe medicine as a science seemed to be at a standstill for centuries after the fall of Greece and Rome, the light of knowledge had not been altogether extinguished. Many of the works of Hippocrates and Galen and other Greek physicians had been safely evacuated to Constantinople, where they were carefully preserved. From Constantinople this knowledge spread to Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia.

A study of the historical development of medicine in Persia and Arabia shows that medicine there was partly Greek and partly Indian. The Nestorians were chiefly responsible for the establishment of Greek medicine in Persia, where they opened several schools and hospitals, including the well-known medical school at Jundisapur. After Islamic conquests, Persian medicine passed under Arabian influence.

At the time of the Moslem conquest of Syria and Iraq, Greek culture and science were in the hands of Syrians, who had adopted Christianity early and had become very ardent missionaries of that Faith. Their missionary zeal took them to India, Ceylon and Central Asia and China, where they took also something of Greek culture and science with them. We still have many Syrian Christians in South India.

The Nestorians or East Syrians were the followers of Nestorius, a Syrian monk, who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 428 A.D. They were students of the Greeks, from whom they took their philosophy, medicine and sciences, and became the custodians of Greek culture. They translated most of the Greek classics into Syriac. They established many schools, but the one at Jundisapur became a very famous school of medicine. When they went to Persia to escape persecution, they took Greek culture and science with them. Later, after the Arab conquests, it was mainly the Nestorians who introduced Greek science, including medicine, among the Arabs. During the fifth and sixth centuries most of the Greek works of Aristotle, Hippocrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Homer and of many Greco-Roman authors had been translated into Syriac. Thus, when Islam was established in Syria and Iraq, a ripe civilization was ready to transmit Greek and Persian science and culture to the Arabic-speaking world. The Jews and Zoroastrians also helped in transferring Greek culture, including Greek science and medicine, to Asia.

The first century of the Abbasid period (750-850 A.D.) is unique in the annals of history. It was a century of translation and preparation, and by the end of that time the Arabic-speaking world had almost all the knowledge of the time, Greek, Indian, Persian and Greco-Roman, at its disposal.

During this period the names of three Khalifas stand out prominently. Al-Mansur was practically the founder of Baghdad and one of the greatest names in Islam. He encouraged men of science and learning and was the first to have Greek and Indian classics translated into Arabic. Harun-Al-Rashid's reign is usually regarded as the Golden Age of Islam. Baghdad became the cultural as well as the political and economic centre of the world. He gave encouragement to science and culture. Al'A Min was a very learned Khalifa. The knowledge of medicine as well as astronomy, literature, music and arts became available in Arabic on a wide scale in the Empire during this period. Important manuscripts were collected, edited and translated.

It is to be observed that the progress of science and the arts, including medicine, followed very closely the fortunes of the Islamic Empire. The reserved attitude of the early orthodox Khalifas gave way to the most generous and liberal attitude of the Abbasid Khalifas, which was a great stimulus to the progress of medicine.

According to Professor Browne, the Cambridge historian of Arabian medicine, Arabian medicine is that body of scientific or medical doctrine which is enshrined in books written in the Arabic language, but which is for the most part Greek in its origin, though with Indian, Persian and Syrian accretions, and only in a very small degree the product of the Arabian mind. Its importance lies not in its originality, but in the fact that in the long interval which separated the decay of the Greek learning from the Renaissance, it represented the most faithful tradition of ancient wisdom, and was during the Dark Ages the principal source from which Europe derived such philosophical and scientific ideas as she possessed.

The translation of the Greek books into Arabic, either directly or through intermediate Syriac versions, was effected for the most part under the enlightened patronage of the early Abbasid Khalifas at Baghdad from the middle of the eighth to that of the ninth century by skilful and painstaking scholars, some of whom were Arabs of Mohammedan faith, but others Syrians, Hebrews or Persians of the Christian and Jewish faith. Some four or five centuries later, European seekers after knowledge, cut off from the original Greek sources, betook themselves with ever-increasing enthusiasm to this Arabian presentation of the ancient learning and rehabilitated it in a Latin dress; and for the first hundred years after the discovery of the art of printing, the Latin renderings of Arabic philosophical, scientific and medical works constituted a considerable proportion of the output of the printing presses in Europe.

The Arabs inspired by the teachings of the Holy Prophet, Mohammed, became the torch-bearers of learning and culture. They realized the tremendous value of the Greek and Roman literature in medicine which they had acquired. They followed these systems and wrote commentaries on them. Unfortunately, dissection was not permitted and surgery suffered on that account. Their most important scientific advance was in the realm of chemistry, with which the old *materia medica* was considerably enriched.

Two Arab physicians were outstanding, namely Rhazes and Avicenna. They played an important part not only in introducing Greek medicine in Arabia, but also in the revival of learning in Europe. Rhazes was born in 680 A.D. in the Persian town of Rai. He compiled a twenty-five-volume medical encyclopædia, based largely on Galen, and over two hundred other works. He was a very original thinker. It was he who introduced animal gut in sutures for abdominal wounds.

The second great physician was Avicenna (Abu Ali Ibn Sina). He wrote the well-known "Canon of Medicine" which was used as a textbook in European medical schools long after the Renaissance. He made many valuable contributions to medical science. He was theologian, philosopher, poet and scientist.

In the East, the Muslim influence spread to Afghanistan, Central Asia and India, and with it came the Greco-Roman medicine as taught and developed in the medical school at Baghdad. The Mohammedans first came to India in 711 A.D., and their visits continued for centuries, till ultimately the Moghul Empire came into being with Babar in the sixteenth century. The Greco-Arabian medicine which came to India with the Muslims is commonly known here as Unani medicine.

In India, the Greco-Arabian or the Unani system of medicine spread with the advent of Muslim influence, and during the reign of Moghul Emperors it reached the height of its glory. Emperor Akbar collected at his court many distinguished *hakims* (physicians) such as Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani, Hakim Rutfullah Gilani and Hakim Ainul-Mulk Siraji. According to the advice of Hakim Abdul Fateh Gilani, many hospitals were established in the kingdom. An account of these is given in *Akbar Nama* (Vol. 3, p. 3). Munshi Lalchand has referred to these hospitals in his history of Agra.

After Akbar, when Emperor Jehangir ascended the throne, he issued the following proclamation at the time of his coronation in 1014 H.E.:—

> In all big cities, hospitals should be established for the treatment of the sick and the expenses for running these hospitals will be paid by the Government.

Emperor Shah Jehan followed the example set by his predecessors and made special efforts to establish hospitals. He established one hospital behind the Jamai Masjid at Delhi in 1060, H.E., to which he appointed some well-known *hakims*.

Emperor Aurangzeb also established several hospitals in his kingdom.

Among the very able Unani physicians during the Moghul period, Hakim Ali Gilani occupies a high rank. He wrote a very fine commentary on Avicenna's "Canon of Medicine." Among others, I may mention the names of Hakim Hasan Gilani, Hakim Sanaullah Khan of Farrukhabad and Hakim Mohammad Akbar Arzani, who wrote an important book on medicine.

During the Moghul period many books were written on Unani medicine. The well-known book *Madanushifa Sikarshahi* contains commentaries on Unani medicine and incorporates many useful things from Ayurvedic medicine. Special attention was paid to the medicinal herbs in India and books written on them. Medical schools for giving instruction in Unani medicine were established at Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and Hyderabad (Deccan).

At Lucknow Mirza Ali Khan Sahib ranked high. He was the physician of King Shah Gaziuddin-Hyder of Oudh. It is recorded that he was known by the title "Hakim-ul-mulk." Hakim Abdul Aziz established in Lucknow the well-known institution known as Takmil-u-Tibb.

There were some well-known *hakims* in Lahore, Bhopal and Rampur. In Delhi, the name of Hakim Ajmal Khan is well known, and in Hyderabad (Deccan) Mir Fazal Ali Khan. There were also Hakim Ahmed Syed Amrohi, who was Director of Medical Services in the Deccan, and Hakim Mohammad Abdul Aziz Khan Sahib, who was physician to H.H. Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Asafjah, and Hakim Syed Altaf Hussain Sahib, who was also appointed as the Director of Medical Services.

It is to be observed that, as the Mohammedans in Baghdad had absorbed Greek as well as Ayurvedic medicine, in India too, they adopted Hindu sciences and art, including Hindu medicine to a great extent. They translated many Sanskrit and Hindi books into Persian. They paid the same attention to Ayurvedic medicine as they did to Greek medicine at an earlier period. So the Unani medicine which is practised today is a blend of both Greco-Arabian and Ayurvedic medicine.

Unani Medicine, like Ayurveda, is also based on the Humoural Theory. According to it, the world consists of two types of matter, gross and subtle. The gross matter comprises Earth, Water and Air, while the subtle matter consists of Energy and Soul. For the medical man energy is of importance and it is symbolized by fire. All the elements interact with each other. In the human body four humours are pro-

duced, namely, *Khoon*, *Safra*, *Souda* and *Balgham*. These are responsible for the replacement of tissue wear and tear and for supplying energy to the body. When the humours become abnormal, they cause ill health. There is a view that under certain circumstances *ufoonath* may be caused due to these humours, which may result in diseased conditions. *Ufoonath* means the occurrence of changes leading to lowered resistance.

There were schools of Unani medicine at Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Hyderabad (Deccan) and other places. It came in contact with Ayurvedic medicine, from which it imbibed many important ideas about diagnosis and treatment.

Glancing at the progress of human thought through the ages, one cannot help admiring the great contributions of ancient Greece. This is how Lucretius, one of the great interpreters of Greek thought, pays homage to Greece:—

> The world was thine to read and having read
> Before thy children's eyes thou didst outspread
> The fruitful page of knowledge, all the wealth
> Of wisdom, all her plenty for their bread.
> (Bk. III. Translated by D. A. STATES)

Of all the Greek contributions to the practice of medicine, the most outstanding and permanent is the Hippocratic Oath, which is a blend of both old Greek and Indian wisdom. Gomperz calls it a "monument of the highest rank in the history of Civilization."

This, then, is briefly the story of Greek medicine as it came to Asia, including Arabia, Persia, India and other countries. Such a study enables us to appreciate the unity and universality of the science of medicine, and impresses upon us the vital necessity of making a humanistic approach to its practice.

S. L. BHATIA

LEAVES FROM A PARIS DIARY

[**Shri Baldoon Dhingra** draws a picture of a mind mature in humanism, and hence aware that it is in no conflict with a tranquil identification with the Whole, in this report of a conversation with the French critic and thinker, M. André Rousseaux. What man of letters would not aspire to "employing reasoned and tested standards; holding fast to urbanity...employing an irony that is never bitter, a tolerance that never degenerates into indifference?"—ED.]

IT IS always a treat to talk to a flashing French mind. M. André Rousseaux is not just the editor of the literary section of the *Figaro*; he is a man of great culture and refinement. His keen eyes dart, eagle-like, straight to the point. To be a critic like Rousseaux is not easy; it is enormously difficult, like swimming against a powerful current. It means keeping within a given domain, preserving a point of view; employing reasoned and tested standards; holding fast to urbanity, rejecting scorn, abuse, exhortation; and employing an irony that is never bitter, a tolerance that does not degenerate into indifference. André Rousseaux is a social and moral critic. One learns from him about the things he honours, of those he cleaves to and the moral and spiritual fundamentals which give life its meaning.

One has only to read his many volumes — six volumes of *Littérature du Vingtième Siècle* and as many on *Le Monde Classique*—to see that he never

magnifies small things or belittles great ones. Rousseaux's writing is in the best French tradition; he never cloys; his emotions colour but never dominate his thinking; and there is a steady brightness about his essays which wearies the eye of none but the mentally apathetic.

In all his essays, whether he talks about Appolinaire or Claudel, Saint-Exupéry or Martin du Gard, Teihard du Chardin or Hermann Hesse, there is a sense of unity. I listened to him the other day as he sat in his armchair in his flat in the Rue d'Assas, with every inch of the wall lined with books which he has reviewed or intends to appraise as and when the mood dictates.

André Rousseaux is deeply concerned about the crisis in humanism in our time. What Western man has called the domain of the complete man has, according to Rousseaux, been the contemplation of the entire world by man restricted to a part of himself. We must relinquish this error if we are to set humanism right and widen its meaning. After four centuries of striving to break down everything, and first of all himself, by analysis, man is coming back to a synthetic approach, to being reanimated by the soul. With that approach, every value, in every part of the world and in every part of the world's history, recovers not only its use but its place in an ordered hierarchy. André Rousseaux feels that the impulse needed today is one that will free the life of the mind from the limits within which the Western outlook has so long confined it. The essence of this new humanism is to be found in the rediscovery of long-abandoned spiritual domains.

Teihard de Chardin, Hermann Hesse, Raymond Schwab, Antonin Artaud and Saint-Exupéry are among those who have tried to create this new renaissance of the spirit. Teihard de Chardin's *Le Phénomēne Humain* is a work of a stature equal to that of Bergson and Einstein. The marvellous prologue called *Voir*—to see—should, says Rousseaux, find a place in all elementary books on philosophy. Everything in life is contained in this word. To see further and better is not a fantasy, a curiosity, a luxury. To see or to die — that is the situation imposed by the mysterious gift of existence. It follows that, in a higher degree, this is the *condition humaine*, or man's estate; "for man has for dozens of centuries been looking only at himeslf." Rousseaux believes that Chardin does not merely widen the humanist view of life; he saves it.

Chardin does not want a restoration but the soul's rebirth. Chardin will write to his brother: "What gives life its richness and value is to make it larger than oneself." For Chardin's humanism is so expansive that it leads to God. Chardin, a scientist and a Jesuit priest, died only three years ago, but his influence is gaining ground each day.

I was keen to know what André Rousseaux would say about Hermann Hesse, whom I have long considered to be the supreme novelist of this epoch. If there is one writer I should personally like to meet, it is Hesse. I have often wanted to pay homage to this great octogenerian in his home in the Tessin. Switzerland, but I have not dared to intrude upon his solitude. Hesse believes that it is not reason we need but rather spiritual salvation if we are to lead humanity out of its present peril.

> I have never lived without religion, [Hesse once wrote to a friend,] but all my life I've never stood in need of a church. Yet, if Christianity does not play an exclusive role in my religion, it predominates — in a mystical, not in a confessional, sense — and it coexists without shock and certainly without conflict with an Asian and Hindu spirituality, whose only dogma is the idea of unity.

Hesse's masterpiece, "*Le Jeu des Perles de Verre*" or "Bead Game" is a sort of spiritual exercise which in the manner of Asian wisdom tries to

unite the world with perplexed man. Why, then, asks Rousseaux, do we finally find the hero retiring from his exalted position to become the humble pupil? Can it be that the novelist in Hesse repudiates the ideal society which he himself created and of which he was so perfect an example? Then he gives up his proper system and concentrates on one man alone the mystery of the order of man. At the end of his career Joseph Valet or Knecht teaches that no man in this world is in any way master of people or of things. This brings to mind the words of A. R. Orage, who said: "The drama of life is . . . a perpetual movement towards a climax that never comes." Hesse tries to co-ordinate all the arts and sciences into a whole not unlike Robert Bridges' accord of sense, instinct, reason and spirit.

We talked about the work of Antonin Artaud and his *Le Pays des Rois Mages* as well as his *Voyage au Mexique*, to which country he repairs because *"La culture rationaliste de l'Europe a fait faillite,"*[1] and again, *"Une civilisation pour qui il y a le corps d'un côté et l'esprit de l'autre risque de voir à bref délai se détacher les liens qui unissent ces deux réalités dissemblables."*[2] We turned to the novel, which André Rousseaux considers reached its apex with Proust. Nothing equal to Proust or approaching his concept of time has so far appeared. There is perhaps one exception—the novels of Michel Butor, whose novels *L'Emploi du Temps* and *La Modification* consider time in its relationship with man.

There is a fascinating tapestry of scenes in these works and a strange fusion between memory and the present time, between physical and metaphysical time. Perhaps *L'Emploi du Temps* is the greatest *roman poétique* since Proust.

We discussed Bernanos for a while. André Rousseaux refers to him as one of the greatest writers of the century, with love and admiration, for he was privileged to have known him as friend as well as writer. Bernanos's *Dialogues des Carmélites*, still being staged in Paris, is a work of great beauty. Bernanos had the heart of a child and there was an immediate contact between him and children.

I was particularly interested to hear from André Rousseaux that perhaps the greatest figures in French literature today were the poets. He referred with particularity to René Char, whom Albert Camus considers to be France's greatest living poet. I can do no more than give translations of two stanzas from his beautiful poem, *A Une Sérénité Crispée*:—

> Who are you, broad of shoulder and strong at the bellows, slaving and visibly cheated of your wages?
>
> I am the idiot of the chilled ashes, who still believes in an ember still alive.
>
> Oh, if each one of us, magnanimous by nature and as supple as he can, lifted his own mountain and risked his goods and his guts, then man of this earth would come again: man, moving, warranting, broadening; the best of us sowing miracles.

BALDOON DHINGRA

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[1] The rationalist culture of Europe has failed.

[2] A civilization which sets the body on one side and the spirit on the other is in imminent danger of breaking the links that unite these two dissimilar realities,

ENDS AND SAYINGS

"————————ends of verse
And sayings of philosophers."
HUDIBRAS

Our Atomic Age does not call for the reframing of the University ideals, was the conclusion reached at the Symposium spread over three sessions at the Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore, in December last. The subjects for discussion were the University as a Centre of Learning, as a Nursery of Civilization, and as the *Alma Mater*.

The function of a *Guru* is to dispel the darkness of ignorance. The transmission of knowledge is the imparting of the "saving synthesis" of *gnana* and *vignana*—wisdom and knowledge. Like a candle lit by another candle, the teacher should enkindle the pupils. The role of the University is to train specialists and create new knowledge and traditions. There should be dedicated minds to undertake research work. The University should not merely communicate facts but also "communicate an influence."

The crisis in the University was on account of the shattering of spiritual values brought by the advancement of materialistic science. Mental insecurity was the product of spiritual uncertainty. This was an age of doubt. There was great need for training leaders of integrated character or an "aristocracy of talents and also of character." The University should not merely rehabilitate scholars and thinkers but also provide pioneers of civilization in all walks of life. The primary purpose of the University is not the betterment of society, although such betterment would be the indirect result of the education imparted at the University. If the University was merely an instrument of society it would be in danger of control by the State or the political leaders and subordination to their purposes. But the University did have certain social responsibilities. It should be a community of teachers and taught where "an atmosphere of free enquiry" prevailed. It should train pupils sensitive to the needs of others and with a capacity for sharing knowledge. Teaching and research would result indirectly in the betterment of society.

Growth and specialization of knowledge has, no doubt, created certain problems; but with close teamwork among the teachers and keen interest in the students it is possible for the universities to overcome the problems created by rapid advancement of knowledge. In ancient India the father was also the teacher, and therefore he could communicate an influence which brought forth reverence and nobility of character. In the forest universities of India, at a later period, the teacher adopted the pupils as his own sons and took care of them in that way; and the pupils looked upon the teacher as their father. But in the present day, the teacher has become a "merchant" selling the goods of knowledge and the pupils are no more than the "consumers." Unless the old sacred relationship of father and son is brought to bear upon the University teacher-student relationship, not much progress in the improvement of their relations can be expected. It is strict conformity to the old ideals of the University that would raise its status in modern times.

Eminent educationists and public figures, Professor M. Yamunacharya, Dr. B. R. Seshachar, Shri K. Guru Dutt, Dr. M. C. Munshi, the Rev. I. L. Thomas, Dr. M. N. Mahadevan, Dr. Ing. E. Weingaertner and Vidyavibhu-

shana Shri M. P. L. Sastry participated in this Symposium.

The increasing importance of the study of the social man and all that he stands for in national planning was stressed by Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the University Grants Commission, recently, while inaugurating the Regional Seminar on the techniques of Social Research at Calcutta, organized by the UNESCO Research Centre for South-East Asia. The need for such a study will be appreciated when one takes into account that the rapid technological changes and the new mode of living which are coming to the countries of South-east Asia are creating new problems affecting the structure of society in many ways. Unless proper steps are taken in time the countries may find themselves faced with unexpected and difficult social problems.

It was rightly urged by Shri Deshmukh, therefore, that any material progress effected through the onward march of science and technology had to be tempered by the establishment of values determined with the help of humanistic studies and moderated through policies evolved from social research. He said (according to a report in *The Hindu*, December 16th):—

> Any improvement in the apparatus for advancing social welfare had to be related to the social background of the community, if it was to be measurable, to be of some significance, and if frustration was to be avoided.... The important condition laid down by the Government in determining projects for social research is that there should be some kind of a "workable hypothesis" — expectation that when the results of research are available, they would have some immediate application to the formulation of policy or implementation of plans and programmes.

Analyzing the tasks before workers in the social sciences, Shri Deshmukh felt that the object of social research should be to study the social man and all that he stood for. It was a task which had become all the more difficult because of the dynamism of the present social *milieu*. And Shri Deshmukh remarked:—

> New democratic *régimes* in their diverse forms are coming up in the countries in this region. Indeed, all over the world, there were going on battles in the minds of people for certain predetermined aims. This was a limitation to methods of social research. The earliest opportunity should be taken for discussing and formulating firm conclusions for the guidance of workers in respect of methodology and techniques.

Welcoming the Seminar, which he thought to be a step in the right direction, Shri Deshmukh hoped that the number of UNESCO's projects would increase as the planning was perfected, and he advised scientists to organize themselves into teams and get together from time to time to review and co-ordinate their results. In conclusion he warned:—

> Care must, however, be taken to ensure adequate flow of trained scientific and technical personnel. Such surveys, which would transform the countryside, must be periodic to avoid mistakes. Apart from the psychology of man, they must also devote attention to the study of administration, and the state of law and order. The country might have a good plan and constitutional machinery to implement it. But, in the end, the plan might not work out as expected, thereby encouraging imperfect implementation. Therefore, they must be investigated, because they might point out some of the defects in the working of the democratic system.

The need to cultivate the spirit of brotherhood among men to make the world safe for humanity and to enable science to fulfil its mission of service to man was strongly urged recently by His Highness Maharaja Jayachamarajendra Wadiyar, Governor of Mysore, inaugurating the Centenary Celebrations of the Central College, Bangalore, when he deplored that the tremendous advance made by man in the world of

science had not added to the happiness of mankind. He said (according to a report in *The Hindu,* December 21st):—

Knowledge pressed forward, but wisdom lingered; wealth increased, yet poverty did not diminish; machinery seemed to save labour only to create unemployment. The spectacle was common of producers who could not sell and consumers who could not buy. Time-saving devices and rapid locomotion seemed powerless to guarantee the desired result of rest and leisure for the citizen. . . .

The atom has arrived in our midst. The man of physics is welcome to house as many millions of atoms as he cares to have in the cells of his brain. The trouble comes only when the atom enters the fields of politics and war and threatens to explode in wide-spread destruction.

Striking, however, a more optimistic note, the Governor pointed out that this kind of problem was nothing new, as power had always brought with it the possibility of abuse, and that the ancients had taught that power must be used for the general good and righteously. Hence, for science to rule the world,

as it is tending to do, it is necessary that righteousness should govern the application of scientific knowledge, whether by men of science or by others, for science by itself will not give moral guidance.

Emphasizing, therefore, the need for the spirit of brotherhood, he rightly indicated that to the moral and emotional pleas in favour of world fellowship and peace among nations, modern science had added the utilitarian but powerful argument that such unity affords the only chance of survival.

Presiding over the same Centenary Celebrations, Shri C. Rajagopalachari observed that in every country at the present day material values had wholly displaced the spiritual and moral values, which was dreadful, even more dreadful than the atom bomb. Tracing the growth of science since the last century, in which the Central College was founded, he surveyed the changes that had taken place in all walks of life:—

The nineteenth century had enthroned rationalism, ousting all traditional beliefs regarding a supreme almighty intelligence. Wherever modern culture developed, the age-old culture had been retired. Religion was pensioned off. But after a hundred years, they had found that knowledge without restraint was a dangerous possession. The sacred myth about Eve and the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden was acquiring a new and terrible meaning. They now saw the meaning of that sacred story better after the Atomic Age that was inaugurated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They could see the meaning of the doctrine of temptation and knowledge, but in course of time, unless a miracle saved them, it would end in the annihilation of civilization.

Outlining the moral decadence that had followed, Shri Rajagopalachari continued:—

We must halt this corruption and restore the higher values of life. Society cannot hold together, if men forget spiritual values. The more knowledge one has, the higher one is up in the social order, the more artfully greedy and selfish he is. Today the exceptional among the educated classes is the good man. We must restore spiritual values. It is a case of "must" if we wish to live. The young should be brought up so as to accept values other than material. But religions should be cleared of all rigidity which did not suit the conditions produced by two centuries of mutual attacks over and above the general impact of reason on all religions.

But what exactly is religion? This theme was taken up by the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, addressing a Delhi gathering at the Gita Day Celebrations of the Bhajan Samaj. Criticizing religion and religious men for not keeping pace with the spirit of science, for dividing mankind into nations and for failing in their duty of evolving an illumined consciousness in man, the Vice-President posed a series of questions (as reported in *The Statesman,* Delhi, December 21st):—

What were our religious people doing today, when the world is filled with inequality and injustice? National bigotry and racial segrega-

tion were rampant. How did religion face these basic objections? Did it awaken a social conscience in man? And did it answer the present-day needs of the world?

Defining the ultimate aim of religion as truth, which was also the goal of science, the Vice-President pointed out that there was no conflict between the two. Devoting most of his speech to an explanation of the true purpose of religion, the Vice-President declared that it was to evolve in man a higher consciousness:—

> We have to evolve what is called an illumined consciousness and not be content with mere intellectual consciousness. Such a consciousness could not be translated into words or written in scriptures. It had to be revealed to us. And it was not a mere fleeting vision but something which must become a permanent acquisition of man. And when man has acquired it, he is "twice born," for then after having been once born into the natural world, he gains a second birth into the spiritual world.

Quoting Gandhiji's observation, "In service I am trying to discover the divine," Dr. Radhakrishnan urged that religion did not ask people to get into monasteries but only asked them to get into the battlefield of life. This was also the essence of the *Gita's* message, which was in no conflict with the spirit of science and which asked man to fight injustice wherever he found it.

A SAINT TO HIS GOD

Do you think you can diminish
My devotion by disguise?
Do you think I do not recognize
Behind each hideous mask
Your wise and merry eyes?
You peep and pry, refusing all relief,
Mocking me with grimaces.
Who cares for clownish faces?
I know you. You need not ask.
You are always up to mischief
But you frighten not at all.
Though at times you may be swinish
Who would take, in blind belief,
The poster for the wall?

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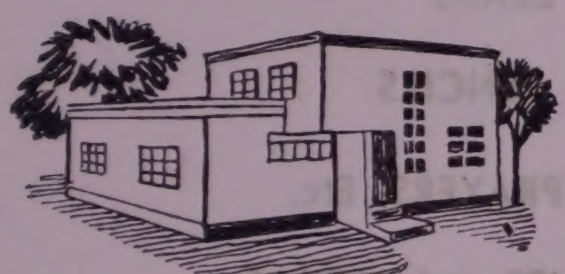

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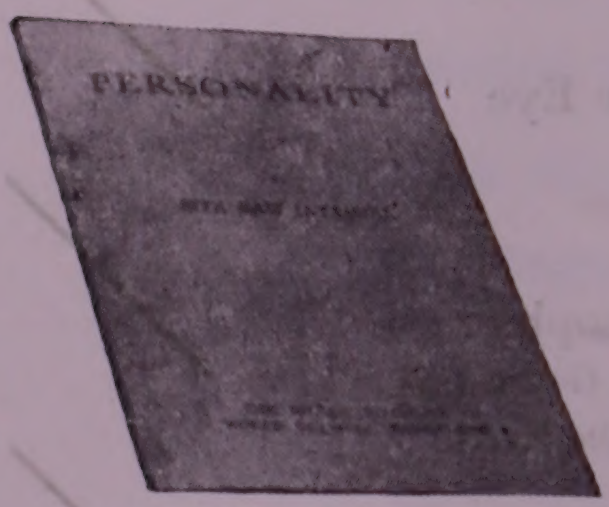

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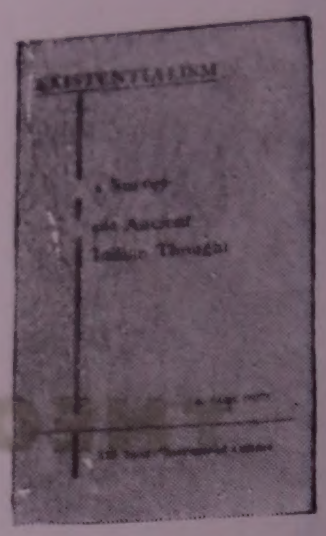

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